JEWISH INFLUENCE IN MODERN THOUGHT

A. A. ROBACK

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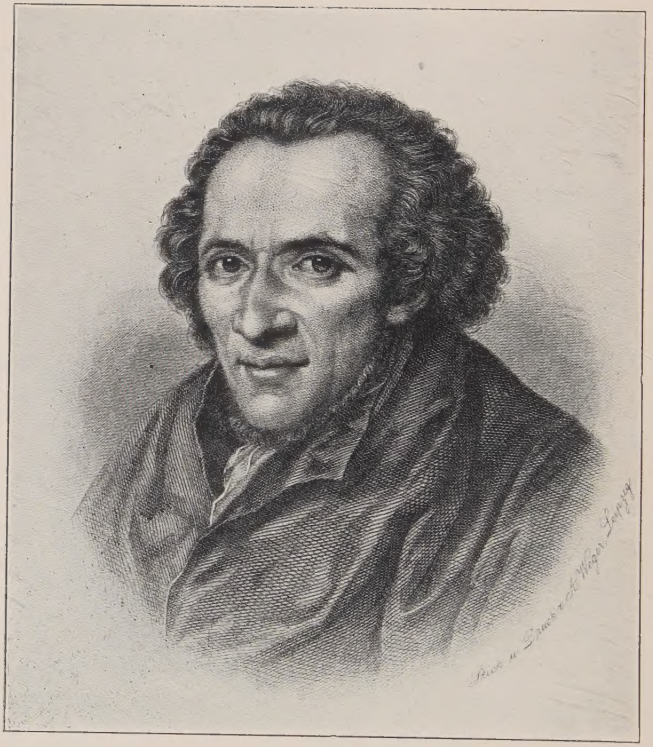

MOSES MENDELSSOHN
(1729–1786)

JEWISH INFLUENCE
IN
MODERN THOUGHT

By
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To the memory of

ISRAEL ZANGWILL

POET, PROPHET AND

PRINCE OF PARADOX

ON THE OCCASION OF THE BI-CENTENARY OF

MOSES MENDELSSOHN

AND

GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM LESSING

THE SEVENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF

HENRI BERGSON *EDMUND HUSSERL*

SAMUEL ALEXANDER *ÉMILE MEYERSON*

LUDWIG STEIN

AND

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF

ALBERT EINSTEIN

FOREWORD

If there is anything distinctive about this book of essays, it is probably the psychological foundation which underlies the facts that have been gathered and collected so as to constitute a system —a system of interpretation, yet with no axe to grind. The book is not apologetic; it is not calculated to appeal to the world for justice to the Jew, nor is it intended to appease the anti-Semitic fury. If anything, it is apt to fan it to even greater fury, but surely one cannot order one's life so as to humor maniacs.

In the studies here presented, I have attempted to look at modern cultural movements, first of all, with the purpose in view of discovering *what* Jewish elements they contain, and secondly, to analyze the *why* and explain the *how* of their cohesion. The method is essentially empirical. To begin with, the data must be verified; then, and then only, can they be examined in the light of psychological hypothesis.

Jewish research until recently has been steeped in religion. *Jewish science* meant an inquiry into

the principles of Judaism. Solid books were written about Jewish ethics, the Jewish mission, Jewish social customs and the Jewish attitude toward life. It had to be shown that the Jews were superior to other peoples because of their religious precepts. It was a stage incident to the age of Jewish emancipation.

Then came another period of Jew-extolling. The beginning of the twentieth century ushered in the *publicistic* current. Lists of Jewish names were drawn up in various departments of human endeavor; and these lists were elaborated into short chapters on " The Jew as a Patriot," " The Jew as a Financier," " The Jew in Chess Playing," etc. The *motif* behind this writing was *the desire to impress*. Sometimes, Gentiles were encouraged to bring out such compilations in order that the effect might be all the greater; and many were the inaccuracies, blunders, and ludicrous juxtapositions that these writers were guilty of. Even Israel Zangwill, Joseph Jacobs, and Arthur Ruppin allowed themselves to make serious lapses in this connection. Naturally, the *anthropological* cross-current had to arise, in keeping with the law of action and reaction. When idealism struts on stilts, crass materialism will stalk with strident step. Both camps have been equally tendentious.

It is high time we entered the *objective* stage, when we could survey dispassionately, without either the craving to surpass all the others or the fear of falling below the standard. The mere listing of Jewish notables (even if not intermingled with non-Jewish celebrities, mistaken for Jewish—which seems to be the rule) is a semi-puerile enterprise. We must *understand* the significance of the contributions. We ought to inquire into the *type of mind* that is likely to attain such achievements. Shall we, like school boys, exult over the big pile of marbles and agates in our possession, oblivious to the meaning of these playthings in terms of chemistry, industry, and economics?

As in every other investigation, method must guide all our acts, and as in every experiment, a mere *bagatelle* of an occurence may prove to be an instance of a striking phenomenon. The question whether the Cohens or the Levys have been greater factors in modern culture will seem absurd to a good many people with education, let alone the untutored, yet the solution of this problem may throw a good deal of light on Jewish biology and psychology, not to mention history. Or, to take another instance: in recording the names of Jewish scientific editors, the purpose is

not merely to show that Jews have done their share and more in this sphere of activity. The influences and side lights are many, as we shall see in chapter XIV.

I happen to mention these two encyclopedic chapters, because they have given me more trouble than all the other chapters combined. Perhaps too much time was spent on ferreting out these minutiae and then verifying them. Nevertheless, I feel that the work has now been made easier for the future encyclopedist, biographer, and even historian, aside from establishing a definite result in the cultural laboratory.

There is a unity running through our inquiries, which may be likened to the string that holds the beads together. The enumeration of facts alone cannot give us any perspective of the past and present, nor any prospect of the future. It is true that I have not, by any means, covered all the phases of Jewish thought. The chapters consist of essays, the majority of which have appeared in various periodicals on different occasions. This explains the slightly colored phraseology toward the close of some of the chapters, which may suggest a chauvinistic strain. It must be remembered that these subjects were discussed, for the most part, in Jewish publications whose readers have been accustomed to more florid language.

It did not seem feasible to eliminate the few peroratory passages without altering the setting of some of the essays; hence the possible charge of "Judeolatry." That there is no basis for this will be clear to the unbiased reader who can distinguish between the sober content and the stylistic flourish.

Although most of the studies have appeared as topical articles, generally on commemorative occasions, in *The Menorah Journal, The American Hebrew, The B'nai B'rith Magazine, The Jewish Tribune* and *The Jewish Forum,* they have all been thoroughly revised and amplified. Only a little more than half of the material in this book has ever been in print before. The essay entitled "The Genius of the Jew" appeared in the latest issue of *The Modern Quarterly* under a title ("This Jew") which is repugnant to me and about which I was not consulted.

While I have gone to great lengths in verifying my data, especially as to the alleged or surmised origin of some notables, even to the extent of cabling to more than one person abroad,[1] I may have included among the editors in chapter

[1] Although Henri Barbusse has been often mentioned in the Anglo-Jewish press, as if he were a Jew (perhaps because he married the daughter of Catulle Mendès and mingled in Jewish society), the noted French *littérateur* was kind enough to advise me that he was not of Jewish origin.

XIV two or three names that do not properly belong there. In comparison, however, with the magnitude of the task, which should have been intrusted to an editorial board, with members in different countries, whatever slips have crept in must be regarded as of little consequence. After making my first trip to Europe, I shall doubtless be able, through personal contacts, to reduce the number of errors and omissions to a minimum in a revised edition.

Meanwhile, this volume may be considered the forerunner of an extensive work on contemporary Jewish philosophy, not merely the consideration of Spinoza, Mendelssohn and Bergson; and it is to be hoped that these essays will stimulate some investigator to turn his attention to this field of research, even if Ludwig Stein has already given us a preliminary study of the subject. (See Bibliography.) The time is ripe for constructive work to supplant or, at any rate, to supplement the interpretation of rabbinical dicta in conformity with theories about the mission of the Jews. Our work must be more positive, less self-conscious, more concrete and objective than in the past, unimpeded by fear of what the non-Jewish world will think and unaffected by trends in other camps, but governed solely by the principles of scientific method.

Finally a word about the auspicious occasion on which the book is brought out—auspicious, I mean, in a symbolic sense; for by a most remarkable coincidence, as will be seen from a glance at the dedicatory page, the year 1929 happens to be the commemorative year *par excellence* of Jewish thought. It marks the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of the man about whom it has been said, by way of extension of the original dictum, that "from Moses [Maimonides] to Moses [Mendelssohn] there arose not one like unto Moses" as well as of his *alter ego,* Germany's greatest apostle of freedom and literary critic, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, who, although not a Jew himself, has earned the eternal gratitude of the whole race, if only by his plays, *The Jews* and *Nathan the Wise.*

With regard to the pillars of thought in our own period, the reader need hardly be reminded that Einstein's fiftieth birthday was celebrated this year in every civilized country; and the fact that the four greatest living philosophers, the superbly intuitive Henri Bergson, the profoundly penetrating Émile Meyerson, the stupendously analytic Edmund Husserl, and the foremost metaphysician in the English-speaking countries, Samuel Alexander, as well as the most alert philos-

opher of our day, Ludwig Stein, were all born seventy years ago[1] (1859) might serve as a cultural symbol of future possibilities.

Cambridge, Mass.
July 25, 1929.

A. A. Roback.

[1] It may be added that the leading philosopher in Czechoslovakia, Christian Ehrenfels, who, in a sense, is the father of the modern *Gestalt* school (it was he who first used the term *"Gestaltqualität"*), and whose Jewish grandfather, Judmann Ehrenfels, was converted to Christianity about 125 years ago, is also a septuagenarian this year. Ehrenfels's appearance is very much like that of the refined Slavic Jew, modest and unassuming. His given name saves him from being identified with his grandfather's race.

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PART I

CHAPTER I

CULTURAL POGROMS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

IN LIEU OF A PREFACE

(An open letter to biographers and encyclopedists.)

When an unoffending group of people in a given locality is suddenly attacked by another group and is wholly exterminated, we stand aghast at the very contemplation of the deed. We call an act of this sort a massacre. And yet, day in and day out, massacres are being enacted by highly educated men and women against a race, if not a nationality, whose only deficiency is that of not having made themselves possessors of some territory. Every single day of the year, biographers and encyclopedists, journalists and lecturers are referring to eminent Jews as Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen or Americans! In other words, they are slaughtering the representative members of the race for the benefit of the numerically stronger unit with which they happen to be associated in a purely casual way. It is not the individuals of the race that these cultured men are killing, but

the race itself, by detaching the mark of Jewish identity from each of its members.

The greatness of a people is measured by the achievements of its famous men. If all great Jews are automatically to become converted into great Germans, great Frenchmen, or great Danes, the *raison d'être* of the Jews, their justification for existing as a distinct group is not in the least apparent. As Shakespeare said through one of his most reflective characters:

> You take my house when you do take the prop
> That doth sustain my house.

Is there not something of a repressive tendency in the systematic ignoring of Jewish genius, a tendency which has been noted altogether too frequently among the Jews themselves? A certain morbid delicacy and a servile alacrity to conform to the supposed wishes of the educated Gentile classes have been responsible for the inclination among half-assimilated Jews to refer to their able race-fellows as anything you please but Jews.

It is common knowledge, though it has seldom been mentioned in print, that only those Jews who are not altogether "kosher" or who are connected with financial enterprises, receive their racial label at the hands of biographers and encyclopedists. Of course, you must expect Trotsky (who pro-

fesses no Jewish affiliations whatever) to be regarded as a Jew by our worthy compilers. But Einstein, the nationalistically inclined Jew, is a German physicist. Jacob Schiff, because a banker (and dictionary biographers are not concerned with his philanthropy), is recorded as an American-Jewish financier, while his far more eminent distant relative, Moritz Schiff, is known simply as a *German* physiologist and biologist.

There seems to be no adequate reason why Emma Lazarus should be considered as an American poetess of Jewish origin, while Moritz Lazarus, the author of the *Ethics of Judaism,* must be converted into a *German* philosopher and psychologist (see Biographical Appendix of Webster's *Dictionary*). And it is difficult to see any consistency in the following bits of enlightenment which I culled from the above reference work:

H. Cohen—German Neo-Kantian philosopher.[1]
G. Meyerbeer—German Jewish composer.
J. G. F. E. Halévy—French composer.
H. Heine—German poet and miscellaneous writer.
M. Ansell Rothschild—Jewish banker.
L. L. Zamenhof—Inventor of Esperanto, born in Russia.[2]

[1] Hermann Cohen was one of Judaism's staunchest champions.

[2] Zamenhof wrote Yiddish well and was interested in various Yiddish reforms, pertaining especially to orthography.

It has been repeatedly pointed out by our enlighteners that science and art know of no national boundaries, that science especially is international —a proposition to which we should be willing to give assent, if it were not in direct opposition to the prevalent practice of associating scientists with a particular national group. The question now arises whether other nationalities and races are more international than the Jewish people. Are we to make fish of the one and fowl of the other?

An extensive study of the treatment of Jewish biography in various encyclopedias and other reference books has convinced me of the fact that by far the majority of the eminent Jews recorded are listed under the nationality of the country in which they happen to have been born. Sometimes the country in which they subsequently took up their residence is added. In the small minority of cases when the Jewish antecedents of the biographee have been taken cognizance of, the wishy-washy phrases " of Jewish origin," " of Jewish parentage " or " of Jewish descent " are used to mince the Jewishness of the subject of the sketch.

To tell the truth, the entire blame for this cultural obliteration of the Jewish people does not entirely rest with the compilers and encyclopedists who, even if they possessed the impulse to dis-

close the Jewish identity of the noted persons treated by them, are usually without the means of ascertaining whether a celebrity of recent times is in any way connected with the Jews. Most frequently such a person is pleased to be associated with a political unit rather than with his racial stock. The Jewish luminaries in France are particularly given to this weakness, which comes under the rubric of Akhad ha-Am's felicitous phrase, *" bondage in the midst of freedom."* It is characteristic that in his *Vita,* written for the Nobel Institute proceedings, Gabriel Lippmann made no mention of his Jewish descent, while both Paul Heyse and Metchnikoff, though to all intents and purposes non-Jewish, did not fail to state that their respective mothers were Jewish.

Worst of all, the Jews are the one civilized people, I believe, who have no *Who's Who,*[1] where one can discover at a glance whether a particular notable is Jewish or not. *The Jewish Encyclopedia,* not to speak of the numerous omissions in that nevertheless excellent work, is now a full quarter of a century behind our time; and Jewish genius has expanded since in every field of human endeavor. The tragedy of the swarthy

[1] This essay, I learn, was partly instrumental in bringing to fruition, at least, the more than timely *Who's Who in American Jewry.*

shepherdess, who has been made to take care of strange vineyards, has actually become the bane, and that not in a symbolic or metaphorical sense, of the Jewish people. It is a bitter irony that while the Jew, Sir Sydney Lee (after the first editor, Sir Leslie Stephen, relinquished his arduous duties in 1891), gave to Great Britain its monumental *Dictionary of National Biography*, containing over thirty thousand pages, the Jews cannot boast even of a *Who's Who*, which fact reveals the utter lack of interest in their own achievements. It is disheartening to think that while Daniel Sanders has done more to standardize the German language than any one else in recent times, that while Arsène Darmesteter and a score of other Jewish philologists have thrown into relief the characteristics of the French language, that while Emil Levy has compiled an exhaustive dictionary of the Provençal language, in several volumes, Yiddish, the vehicle of over nine million Jews, has not found a champion sufficiently interested to provide it with an adequate dictionary. Similar contrasts may be drawn in other spheres of Jewish culture. Everywhere we see the Jews promoting the cultural interests of their neighbors; and yet the impudent reproach is heard that the Jews are parasites, appropriating to themselves the achievements of other nations.

Nor is it wholly the fault of our scholars that the record of Jewish achievement is so meager. The Jews who are in a position to raise the money for valuable publications are unfortunately possessed of a bent of mind which causes them to divert their energy and resourcefulness in other directions. To them it seems more important to institute an investigation into the full names of the drafted soldiers in the European war or to encourage a research as to the exact date an insignificant early Jewish settler was in communication with a prominent Gentile. The exploits of contemporary Jewry in the various countries are almost studiously neglected, perhaps in order to provide material for future research a hundred years hence; for if it is difficult at present to state with certainty whether a noted scientist, *littérateur* or artist is connected with the Jews, how much more complicated will the situation be after the man and his progeny are dead?

It is my impression that the average compiler of biography would be glad to give credit where credit is due, if only he received encouragement; if he were not confronted with cultural inertia on the one hand, and a dearth of material regarding Jewish biography on the other. The encyclopedists and biographers must be enlightened on the *fundamentals of significant classification.* To classify

a Jew as a Russian simply because he chanced to be born in Russia, though his parents emigrated with him to another country while he was an infant, is almost analogous to calling a man a fireman because he had once in a dramatic sketch impersonated a member of the fire brigade.

The occasional linking of a man's name with his Jewish antecedents indicates that *in principle* the biographer recognizes the distinct right of the Jews to be regarded as a national unit. But since there are so few indications of Jewish merit in the biographical dictionaries, we must infer either that no more than a score of our people have distinguished themselves in modern times or that the compilers are limited in their knowledge in this respect. The latter alternative appears to be by far the more reasonable to accept.

Of late there has been seen a hopeful sign of improvement, as indicated in the recent editions of encyclopedias, in the direction of revealing the extent of the Jewish contribution to modern culture. The collaborators of the *Britannica* and the *New International* encyclopedias at least have not taken pains to conceal significant biographical facts as the French encyclopedists have done.

An instance of the awkward position the French encyclopedists sometimes find themselves in can be had in the biographical sketch of the distin-

ÉMILE MEYERSON
(1859–)

guished philosopher, Émile Meyerson, which appeared in *Larousse Mensuel Illustré* (April, 1928, vol. XXII), where the Jewish thinker and scientist, an emigrant from the Polish ghetto, is described as "a philosopher, using the French language, born in Poland" (*philosophe de langue française, né en Pologne*). In other words, the political and economic *accidents* of birthplace and adopted country are stated, while the biological and psychological *essentiæ* are ignored.

In their zeal to appropriate to themselves every noted man and woman born in France, they have, in keeping with their traditional materialistic policy, lost sight of the facts of heredity, as if the philosophical impulses of Bergson and Durkheim, the musical genius of Halévy, and probably Bizet and Saint-Saëns, if not Ravel, the scientific proclivities of the Reinachs, Oppert, S. Lévi, Lippmann and Bernheim, or the artistic endowments of Pissarro and several of the Lévys, as well as of Rachel and of Sarah Bernhardt—as if all these creators and interpreters of recent cultural movements were wholly products of their environment and not the result of heredity.

It is for us to protest against these appropriations which are calculated to deprive us of our most valued possessions. Great men are not like

manufactured articles "made in France" or "made in Germany." They are the sons of the national stock which has brought them forth (even if they are not willing to recognize the fact), thanks to its innate vitality and special efforts to co-operate with the laws of natural selection in the face of many hardships and temptations.

The tragedy of the situation has been brought out in all its irony by the Nestor of mathematical physicists, Albert Einstein himself, if the anecdote told about him is accurately reported. It was at a recent gathering in one of the glittering *salons* in Paris that a lady, sitting next to the lionized scientist, put the following question to him:

"Professor, what can you tell me of your theory that I can understand?"

"Well," replied the physicist with a good-natured smile, "it's all simple enough. If my theory proves to be correct, you, as a French lady, will assert that I am a Frenchman; if it proves incorrect, you will have me a Jew. Now, the Germans, should my theory prove correct, will claim me as a German; but if incorrect, they will maintain I am a Jew. You see everything is relative and conditional."

This was a priceless reply; for not only did

the much and vainly questioned Einstein skillfully divert the boresome query put to him, in particular by affable ladies, perhaps for the thousandth time, but he actually gave an excellent example of relativity—true, not in the cosmic sphere, but, at any rate, in the social and political world, in the psychology of prepossession and prejudice.

Appendix: The following correspondence carried on a number of years ago while I was at Princeton, a travelling fellow from Harvard University, may serve as an illuminating footnote to the essay.

Princeton, N. J., April 2, 1917.

"Of German Origin" or "Of Jewish Origin"?

To the Editor of *The Nation:*

Sir:

Most readers of *The Nation* will, probably, like myself, feel indebted to Professor J. for his interesting obituary article on Joseph Halévy, but it is a pity to find that Professor J., himself a Jew, did not think it worth while to mention the late Orientalist's racial affiliations. Probably we were left to infer his descent from the name. Still more striking is the fact that in the article mentioned, Jules Oppert is stated to have been of German origin. The word "origin," so far as I am aware, is used with reference to one's ancestry. It might have been more to the point, then, to say that Oppert was of Jewish origin. From a biographical, biological, and socio-psychological—in short, from a scientific point of view, a man's ethnic affiliations, for many generations back, are more significant than his place of birth, which may be only a fortuitous affair.

The intellectual injury to the Jews is far more stinging than the most cruel physical and social restrictions that have been their lot: "for these," in the words of William James, "make us feel that, however bad might be our plight, we had not sunk to such a depth as to be unworthy of attention at all." The international wholesale appropriation of Jewish achievement can be explained very often, though not excused, on the basis of ignorance on the part of encyclopedists and writers of biography, but in the case of Professor J., this explanation falls away; and his attitude in this regard is characteristic of a great many Jewish *savants*. Hence it may be said that if, once upon a time, Esau sold his birthright to Jacob, Jacob is now, *en revanche,* ceding the very right of existence.

A. A. Roback.

April 25th, 1917.

Dear Sir:

It seems to me that without meaning to be you are a trifle unfair to Professor J. His omission does not strike me as being particularly grievous.

H. de W. Fuller, Editor.

May 2, 1917.

Dr. H. de W. Fuller, Editor
The Nation
New York, N. Y.

My dear Sir:

In reply to your note with regard to my criticism of Professor J., I wish to point out that the latter's omission may easily be regarded as a fault of commission; for it is apt to mislead many people who happen to know what Oppert's real origin was. Besides—and this is more significant —allow me to make it plain that Professor J.'s article was considered by me only as an occasion for raising the issue which is here involved. If Professor J.'s omission is not "particularly grievous," then surely omissions of this sort on the part of hundreds of others are no more objectionable. In that event, may I ask whether there is at all any hope of right-

ing the situation? Undoubtedly you are aware that the habit of slurring the racial affiliations of Jewish men of genius (especially of contemporary times) is very prevalent. Partly this is due to ignorance, but sometimes it seems to be motivated by such factors as an exaggerated sense of delicacy in the case of certain Jews, and a tendency towards national self-aggrandizement in the case of some non-Jews, who allow the Jews the husk, but prefer to enjoy the kernel all by themselves.

Such an attitude, I contend, is deleterious, not only because it is a gross injustice to the Jewish people, but—what seems to me more important—because scientifically it is not proper. And I assure you that if you had given the matter as much thought as I have done for the last ten years, ever since my high school days, you would have reached the same conclusion.

A. A. Roback.

CHAPTER II

THE GENIUS OF THE JEW

THE ARGUMENT

The question of Jewish genius has been debated back and forth so much in the last fifty years that it has become almost threadbare. On the one hand, we are confronted with the prejudiced anti-Semite, whether he be of the intellectual caliber of Carlyle or belong to the crew of Houston Stewart Chamberlain & Co. On the other hand, we are greeted by a host of chauvinistic enthusiasts who cry themselves hoarse hurrahing for Spinoza, Heine, Disraeli and a few other Jewish geniuses of whom they have heard in the Temple sermon or read about in their community sheet, and throw in for good measure half a dozen celebrities whom they suppose, for one reason or another, to be Jews. Thus, Columbus is annexed to the Chosen People, although the evidence on which the claim has been made is flimsy, to say the least; and Rembrandt, who painted Jewish types and lived close to the Amsterdam ghetto, has been turned by recent writers into a Jew; not to mention the

names of Wagner, who might have been a half-Jew, although I am inclined to give his mother the benefit of the doubt, and Rossini whom Disraeli, in his *Coningsby,* has apparently confused with Rossi, and lately even Schubert, whom the publishers of the *Jewish National Blue Book,* in a brochure announcing their publication, were parading as a Jewish genius. In a physical culture magazine, I noticed the same mistake repeated by a Rabbi who should have been more *au courant* with the facts. In this connection, Thackeray's delightful squib on Disraeli's *Coningsby* ("Codlingsby") might be recalled; and for some time I had been seriously contemplating bringing out a publication entitled *Great Men Who Are Not and Never Were Jews.*

Many are the anecdotes told about the old-country "batlonim" who took Lincoln (Abraham), Roosevelt (Rosenfelt) and a host of other famous personages (Mendel, Mendelieëv), to be of the seed of Abraham. This tendency, *entre nous,* is not confined to the "batlan" alone. Our very brilliant Judeophile, Huneker, and, to a less extent, the scholarly Joseph Jacobs had a tendency to err in this direction, and lead others, *e. g.,* Lombroso, astray too. The *naïveté* of the late Israel Zangwill in such matters is most astonishing, if not pathetic.

The zealous ignorance of Jewish achievement on the part of intellects like Carlyle and Buckle, as well as the ignorant zeal of the average Jewish communal worker need not be gone into again. No attempt, so far as I know, has been made, in spite of the pretentious volumes purporting to show how many Jews have participated in the march of civilization, or to enumerate the Jewish geniuses—no attempt has been made to analyze, on a large scale, the *genius* of the Jew, especially in comparison with that of other races and in the light of historical epochs. Joseph Jacobs' laborious study on the comparative distribution of Jewish ability is the nearest approach to this sorely needed study.

Fishberg's anthropological study, *The Jews,* at once suggests itself but is far from acceptable, because of its one-sided and now antiquated standpoint of historical materialism. A whole shelf of books on this subject can be cited in English alone, not to mention hundreds of articles, but the *motif* behind this memorialization is undoubtedly an apologetic one, and bespeaks the well-known inferiority feeling of the sponsors of such works as Madison Peters' *Justice to the Jew,* Sterling's *The Jew and Civilization,* or even Singer's forthcoming encyclopedia, *A Gentiles' Outline of the Jew's Contribution to Civilization.* Dr. Singer

seems to have struck the grand idea of engaging none but Gentiles to write the life of the Jew. Even in this there is nothing new, and it has already come about without the intermediation of a promoter; for the most "biographed" person in the world is a Jew; and sometimes a Jew takes a hand in this biographical offering, too, *e. g.,* Emil Ludwig and Alfred Edersheim.

To my mind, the Jews are equal to the task of appraising their own cultural giants, without seeking the *imprimatur* of non-Jewish authorities. Indeed, we should not be at all surprised to find that these will, in their turn, consult Jewish expert opinion for their guidance, and secure the "hekhsher" (the causative noun of "kosher") of contemporary Jewish leaders.

Of all the various species of ability, the Jews have been credited on all sides with alertness, intelligence, cunning, shrewdness, and even brilliancy. Intellect and talent have been accorded them as individuals but not as Jews, while in the matter of genius, only a few of the superior Gentile minds have been sufficiently immune from bias to allow that there are any Jewish geniuses. The Nordic philosophical writers have been especially stinting in their appreciation of Jewish achievement. Hence it should not be out of keeping with their own methods and policy to "make

them sit up and listen" to the Jewish rôle in the world's cultural performance. At times, of course, the narration will sound a bit vainglorious, rotarian, or self-centered; but such a procedure might be justified as a strategic move to undermine the monopoly of unrestrained self-adulation in anti-Jewish circles.

Jewish intellectuality will be taken for granted on the score of common observation, expressed so frequently, that it would be superfluous to document the instances. The question of Jewish genius is not so easily disposed of. Usually, advocates of the Jews are confronted with a special type of the hoary fallacy of composition. The argument would run somewhat like this: "Since we, non-Jews, have produced Phidias and Plato, Aristotle and Hippocrates, Bach and Beethoven, Raphael and Michelangelo, Dante and Shakespeare, etc., and you have none to measure up to any one of these, and very few to compare with the long and impressive list of even lesser minds that the Gentiles can draw up, it necessarily follows that geniuses of the first order are not to be found among the Jews." In other words, the Jews are here pitted against all the nations of the world, from antiquity to recent times!

It is strange that this obvious sophism should have been swallowed " hook, line and sinker " by so many cultivated Jews, who have shown themselves willing to concede that, while the " People of the Book " have produced a good many able men and women, yet they must be considered as woefully lacking in stars of the first magnitude.

From this somewhat depressing view we are, however, pulled up with a jolt, when we survey the influence of Jewish intellect in the modern era. Can it be denied that the leaders of present-day thought and even art are Jews? Even if Bergson is not to be compared with Plato, or Husserl with Kant, Einstein, by the consensus of distinguished scientists in his own science, cannot be removed from his lofty pedestal beside Newton, Kepler and Copernicus, and perhaps even Galileo; and whether we accept Freud's doctrines or not, he is hailed as a genius even by his adversaries.

Similar comparisons may be made in other fields, as we shall soon see, but it naturally will be contended that our present century is not to be mentioned in one breath with the Florentine golden period in the early Renaissance, or the Elizabethan age, let alone the heyday of Athens, when there were more geniuses to the square foot than there are now to the mile.

I have taken all these contentions into consid-

eration. What is more, I have tried even to understand, if possible, the anti-Semitic flurries against Einstein, or the vehement protests against admitting eminent Jewish scientists to rightful honors. Such an attitude at first stupefies one, because it displays so flagrantly the irrationality of men, even of those who enjoy an exalted position in society, presumably because of their intelligence and ability. Surely it is difficult for a thoroughly sane person to sympathize with a view which would preclude a man from receiving recognition for his services simply because he happens to be born a Jew. Judeophobes themselves would scarcely explain their behavior after this fashion. The ostensible reason for the opposition, in such cases, would undoubtedly be the supposed aggressiveness on the part of the Jewish leader in calling attention to his achievement, the implication being that Jewish fame is artificially fanned, and that almost invariably there is more smoke than fire, so far as real merit is concerned.

Any one who is at all acquainted with the lives of outstanding pioneers in the history of civilization will testify to the groundlessness of such a charge. The Jew, as a matter of fact, has had to travel uphill with a greater burden on his shoulders, and over a rockier path, than did his more fortunately born colleague. Even as a convert to

Christianity (witness Disraeli), he was still tainted with his Jewish origin, and would have to exhibit an extraordinary amount of vital stamina in order to attain his eminence.

If we accept the data of Dr. Singer's staff, at work on his *Gentiles' Outline of the Jew's Contribution to Civilization,* then about 1,800 Jewish " master minds " have made " the most significant original contributions to the progress of mankind." (Circular letter dated February 5, 1929.) Among this number, probably only a score of first-rate geniuses could be discovered; but even that number is relatively high, when one makes allowance for the historical conditions which made the Jew practically non-competitive for several centuries. In fact, it is only with his emancipation in the latter half of the nineteenth century that he could be said to participate in the intellectual race of mankind.

We must remember that, as Joseph Jacobs has pointed out, out of " a million and a half Jews [who] have lived to fifty in the past century, only a little more than half a million can be said to have lived, the rest have but existed." [1] Furthermore, the Jews have always constituted, numer-

[1] Joseph Jacobs: "The Comparative Distribution of Jewish Ability," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,* 1886, vol. XV.

ically, a small nationality. A century ago, there were scarcely three million Jews in the world, according to the latest figures of the Yiddish Scientific Institute (Leshtchinsky), and previous to 1735, it is estimated their number was little over a million.[1] What chance, particularly, was there for a Raphael, Titian, Da Vinci, Dürer, Holbein or Velasquez to develop at a time when the ghetto gates were shutting the Jews out from the very thought of painting?

Theological and pietistic preoccupations were another handicap to the expression of Jewish genius. How many subtle minds were lost to the world through the legalistic atmosphere in Palestine and Babylonia at about the beginning of the Christian era! Had the Wilno Gaon been born a century later, say, in Berlin or Frankfurt, he might have astonished the world with his scientific ingenuity, instead of concentrating entirely on Talmudic lore and even refusing to publish his writings during his lifetime.

Sometimes, it is urged that the Jews, because of their very persecution, have acquired a vigorous intellect in the course of their struggle for existence. Such a view will hardly bear examination in the light of what is known about the inheritance of acquired characteristics; and besides, it would

[1] Joseph Jacobs: *loc. cit.*

seem as if the scattered people were the only example of a group acquiring ability because of persecution. It is strange that history should not afford us other instances of the operation of such a principle. The Armenians in the clutches of Turkey, the Poles under the domination of Russia and Austria, and the various minor nationalities that had fallen a prey at different times to the more powerful states surrounding them certainly did not give evidence of a heightened genius coefficient. On the other hand, it has been abundantly proven that the most suitable conditions for mental capacity to express itself are a tolerable amount of freedom and a cultural center. Economic sufficiency is perhaps not as important as Buckle supposes, although he makes a strong case even for that factor.

The Jews had none of these advantages and yet were contributing more than their quota of illustrious men in the drive of progress.

To be sure, comparisons are not only invidious, but in the sociological domain they are well-nigh impossible; for conditions cannot be reproduced, and certain phenomena stand out alone almost as miracles. Long after he had ceased believing in miracles, that perspicacious Frenchman, Ernest Renan, could not rid himself of the feeling that the Greeks, through their unparalleled achieve-

ment in a small state, and the Jews, through their irrepressible pertinacity as a nation, were each manifesting a miracle.

Perhaps no one will have the temerity to place the Jews side by side with the Greeks as regards fertility of genius. In extolling the qualities of Attica during the period between 530 and 430 B.C., and particularly under the rule of Pericles, Galton, in his *Hereditary Genius,* has rightly dwelt on the number of great men that were produced on a small strip of territory by a population that consisted of 90,000 native free-born individuals, 40,000 aliens and about 400,000 slaves, laborers, and artisans of no educational attainments.

Surely it would be futile, almost fatuous, to begin to draw parallels between the titans of Greece and the giants of Israel. We are awe-struck at the very sound of such names as Aristotle, Plato, Socrates, Pericles, Sophocles, Phidias, Euripides, Æschylus, Hippocrates and at least a dozen others who were practically contemporaries. Genius then rubbed shoulders with genius; followed in the wake of genius. You could not speak of one as being head and shoulders above the rest; for at many a gathering there could be found at least half a dozen that were of equally colossal stature.

All this and more is granted. But the question

is: What has become of the powers that teemed with genius? There is a Greek nation just as there is a Jewish people still existing. While the former has exhausted its supply of greatness, the latter is still producing in ever greater numbers and in a variety of fields. Must we not come to the conclusion that there is a *dynamic* quality to the genius of the Jew in contradistinction to the static properties of the ancient Greeks, and probably of other nations? In the case of England, *e. g.,* we may ask with equal force: Where are the Shakespeares and Miltons, the Bacons and Newtons, the Purcells and Byrds of earlier days? The decline of English mentality has been remarked by more than one keen observer; and were it not for the Scotch, Irish, Welsh and Jewish elements in Great Britain, the present cultural status of the country would be nothing to boast of.

The Jews, like a perpetual fountain, keep replenishing their reservoir, if not from year to year, at least from decade to decade. It would be irksome to enumerate here the long list of top-notchers, in every field of endeavor, that are of Jewish birth, whether in politics, law, philosophy, criticism, art, science, *belles-lettres* or the stage. If the Jews cannot be said to vie with the ancient Greeks in the caliber of the genius produced (although I am inclined to think that the halo of

hoary age must be reckoned with here. Perhaps Moses Mendelssohn is not merely the *Jewish* Socrates, but the peer of that roguish dialectician whose noble and dramatic death was instrumental in swelling his fame, and Disraeli may have been not a whit less able than Pericles, and Spinoza perhaps the equal of Plato, whose producing span was more than twice as long as Spinoza's, since the former died at the age of 78 and the latter when only 44 years old—nor was Plato obliged to polish lenses for a living from the early morning to late at night—if the Jews, then, are only in the *proxime accessit* class, as compared with the Athenians of antiquity, they at least have exhibited a far greater distribution of genius and an inexhaustibility which must fill one with wonder, considering the ravages effected among the "elected people" through continual persecutions and conversions to Christianity. It is well-known that many scores of towering men, in order to be assured of advancement, were converted, frequently by their fathers, to the dominant religion in the state. Since these and their culturally, though not morally, precious stock were permanently lost to the Jewish race, it is all the more marvellous that the supply of genius among the Jews should not have considerably diminished.

In the light of these facts, what other inference

can we draw but that Jewish genius is to be distinguished by its dynamic and progressive force? In some respects, Jewish genius is unique. In spite of the legendary character of the great liberator, and notwithstanding his belittlement by Goethe, in one of his minor writings,[1] Michelangelo's conception of Moses seems to be a faithful representation of the man whom the Jews regard as the greatest of the great. The Prophets, again, are a *sui generis* phenomenon in history. Face to face with their fervent sense of and uncompromising demand for justice and universality, the abstract quest of Socrates and Plato seems "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." The lyrical portions of the Bible have never been surpassed, and suggest to us that probably a large part of the ancient Hebrew productions has not survived.

The age of the Talmudists abounds in acute minds that have unfortunately been diverted into sophistic channels. What these quibblers would have accomplished if transplanted into a scientific atmosphere! Indeed, some of these Talmudists, like Samuel Yarkhina'ah, were astronomers and physicians in addition to carrying on their legalistic activities in the academies.

We are often prone to neglect these men be-

[1] "Israel in der Wüste"—one of the supplementary appendices to his *West-östlicher Divan.*

Temple Israel Library

cause their aptitude did not meet the requirements of Occidental civilization, but some of them may have been geniuses, regardless of the fact that their contribution was not serviceable to humanity at large. If Porson is to be rated a genius because of his textual criticism, why may not Rashi, the "Prince of Commentators," a mind as crisp, intuitive, and lucid as Porson, be placed in the same category? Or are the *Institutes* and *Reports* of Coke so much above the level of the closely reasoned *responsa* of the subtle and learned Gaonim as to secure lasting fame for their author to the disparagement of the decisions rendered on the part of the great ecclesiastical jurists of the Jews? If Galton includes superb oarsmen in his list of British geniuses, why should these scholarchs not be accorded a similar privilege?

These are all questions that might profitably and justly be considered. Have the poets, philosophers and statesmen (Yehudah Halevy, Ibn Gabirol, *i. e.*, Avicebron, Samuel Abulaña) of the Spanish period—apart from Maimonides—received their full meed of recognition in the non-Jewish world? Have the Jewish apostates of genius (Neander, Herschel, Stahl, and a host of others) been taken duly note of in the appraisal of Jewish capacity?

It is to be feared that the attitude of the learned

world toward the Jews, in this respect, is reminiscent of the suggestion, " Heads, I win; tails, you lose." These queries have been proposed here not for final disposition. They are merely hints as to the direction our investigation along " psycho-Semitic " lines should take. Meanwhile, it is sufficient to stress the dynamic strain in Jewish mentality and, further, to note that Palestine has produced very little genius; that although Jews have lived in the land of " milk and honey " ever since Joshua led them there, nevertheless, in post-Biblical times we must look to the diaspora for the budding of true greatness. I can anticipate many objections to this statement, on partisan grounds, and many explanations will be forthcoming, but the fact remains unchanged.

Again, I realize that to talk of a dynamic force in Jewish genius in contrast with the static quality of Greek genius smacks of mysticism. Social psychologists, especially of the behavioristic school, will ask: What is the substratum of this dynamic force? Is it inherent in the individuals of the race, or does it hover above, somewhere in a Platonic world, as a super-soul?

My reply must necessarily be tentative, general and brief. It may be summed up as follows:

(1) Genius is hereditary, but is seldom inherited directly from the parents alone. The unit

characters which constitute genius are the result of a felicitous combination or conjuncture of desirable dominant and recessive qualities.

(2) The Jews are, as a people, possessed of a nervous system which allows of a readier canalization and, therefore, rapid redistribution of nervous energy, thus facilitating adjustment and re-adjustment with greater ease than in the case of perhaps any other race. The Greeks were not endowed with this plastic nervous system and, consequently, in time were reduced to an insignificant nationality.

(3) The nervous adjustment of the Jews is such that it permits of a great variety of combinations eventuating in accordance with the circumstances and atmosphere. We may liken the situation to a number of dice which are polished and rounded, as compared with those that are nicked and rough-hewn.

When we read Jacobs' previously mentioned study to-day, we are astonished at the cultural strides the Jews have made in the last fifty years, and also at the revaluation of some of the celebrities. " Of course," apologizes Jacobs, " the Jews have no Darwin. It took England 180 years after Newton before she could produce a Darwin." In the year 1929, we should have completed the concessive sentence by adding, " but they have an

Einstein and a Freud." Jacobs computed that it should take, on a statistical showing, considering the Jewish population, 900 years before the Jews would produce another Spinoza. But perhaps Jacobs has underrated the genius of Mendelssohn and Salomon Maimon; and surely he could not have anticipated the rising stars of Bergson and Husserl—all of whom, if not on a par with Spinoza, may yet be looked upon as almost unique in their generation.

The figure of Lord Reading (Rufus Isaacs) would especially have intrigued Jacobs could he have foreseen in those days to what heights the promising attorney would attain; and surely the former Viceroy of India must be set down as one of the first-rank geniuses in his field.

If Jacobs were here to-day to rewrite his pioneer study, we should have a different picture of the situation. If he was able then to collect "335 names of Jews distinguished in all branches of human activity," during the century between 1785 and 1885, with Disraeli, Heine, Lassalle and Felix Mendelssohn topping the list, the number of such celebrities between—let us say—1830 and 1930 would be far greater, and would compare much more favorably not only with British genius but with German and French as well.

(4) The mechanism which is responsible for

the persistence of the Jews, in face of the most exterminating tactics on the part of their persecutors, is at bottom the same which is instrumental in fostering their genius.

(5) There is no telling whether the Jews will not produce a genius in music to match Bach or Beethoven, or a painter to approach the art of Raphael, or a sculptor like Michelangelo. Who, for instance, would have predicted a hundred years ago that the Jews would count among the renowned sculptors of the world such men as Antokolski (in Russia!), Epstein and Glicenstein? Jacobs, in " The Comparative Anthropometry of English Jews " (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,* 1890, vol. XIX), suggests that the larger incidence of color blindness and color weakness which he found, in common with other investigators, among the Jews, may explain " the absence of any painters of great ability among Jewish celebrities." He regards Jozef Israëls only as a third-rate painter, and does not mention Pissarro, Anton Mengs, and a few other artists of high rank. It is worth noting that Israëls' reputation has been in the ascendant since Jacobs wrote his paper for the Anthropological Institute.

We are inclined, and rightly so, to judge the future by the past. Most of us are almost certain

that the great masters in art, literature, and music can never be equalled, but the fortuitous nature of hereditary conjuncture and the occurrence of mutations must not be lost sight of.

I suspect that a good part of the secret involves the relation between the dominant and the recessive characteristics, which may be governed in certain races by slight deviations from the standard principle.

With reference to the just-noted color weakness, Jacobs had no inkling, in 1885, that the Jew, Bakst, would be acclaimed the greatest scenic decorator of the twentieth century, and that the era of Jewish painting was just beginning at the time he was practically despairing of seeing the Jews on an equality even with the British artists.

Strange to say, the theory of another Jew, Alfred Adler, who has developed the doctrine of compensation for organ inferiority, could, under the circumstances, be invoked to argue that the larger incidence of color weakness among the Jews would call for, in their geniuses, an over-compensation in the direction of painting, ophtalmology and optics.

(6) The corollary to be drawn from the foregoing is that Jewish genius is not confined to any one sphere. There seems to be a process of evolution, or perhaps only change, guiding their devel-

opment. Jacobs found that the Jews had "no distinction whatever as agriculturists, engravers, sailors and sovereigns." Apart from the fact that some of these designations are not specific enough (*e. g.*, David Lubin might surely be alluded to, in one respect, as a great agriculturist), the statement is without any point. He might just as well have observed that the Jews have not produced any great Popes. During the comparatively short period of Jewish self-rule, two of the greatest sovereigns of all times had governed the country. Either one, David or Solomon, could be associated mentally with Alfred the Great.

It is true that Jews have not yielded their quota of explorers. It would seem that the "wandering" spirit could not be concentrated in outstanding individuals when the whole race manifested this bent. In other words, the genius is one who brings to expression the subconscious potentialities of his race, but where these latent potentialities are actually kinetic, there is nothing to absorb from his racial reservoir.

Of one thing we may be quite certain, and that is: the Jews excel as interpreters, whether of literature, the acted drama, music or painting. Nearly all the great instrumental executants are Jews. On the stage their prowess is unquestioned; and in criticism, Brandes will be a name to conjure

with for many a decade, until probably another Jew takes his place.

The reason for the peerlessness of the Jew in the realm of interpretation is to be found undoubtedly in his *empathic* endowment. With his cosmopolitan spirit and universal reach he can, thanks to his adaptability, or, physiologically speaking, plasticity of neural organization, readily gain an insight into the purpose of a masterpiece; and all interpretation is, to a certain extent, creation.

It is to be feared, however, that this very universality, which is part and parcel of the Jew's genius *in abstracto,* constitutes in itself a limitation. Men like Beethoven and Bach, Titian and Raphael, although passing through a stage of apprenticeship, become lost in their own art. Da Vinci was an exception in the range of his interests. The versatility and humanistic interests of a number of Jewish near-geniuses probably prevented them from deepening their creative powers. (Moses Mendelssohn, Heine, Marx, Lassalle, and a number of others may be mentioned in this connection. Felix Mendelssohn would most likely have turned out finer masterpieces than he did, had he not devoted so much energy to the promotion of music. Paradoxically enough, were he less the man of vision and more

of the philistine, his genius would have stood out in greater relief. Spinoza, on the other hand, belongs to the more introverted type.)

Equally surprising is Jacobs' conclusion that the Jews "are less distinguished than Europeans generally as authors, divines, engineers, soldiers, statesmen, travellers." Again, we are at a loss to know just what is to be understood by the term "author," "divine," or "soldier." The "Jewish divine" is a particularly incongruous phrase, and as to soldiers, surely it would be preposterous to expect a Jewish Wellington or Nelson at a time when a Jew could not even receive a commission in the army or navy. Since matters have taken a different turn in some countries, we have had the pleasure (?) of seeing a Monash lead his Anzacs in the World War.[1] In Italy, Austria, France and the United States, a number of generals and admirals of Jewish birth could be cited, and at the eventful capture of Quebec, by Wolfe, Isaac Schomberg conducted himself in hero-like fashion. We ought not to forget that the greatest military genius of all times, Hannibal, who single-handed held in check

[1] The legend of Napoleon's marshal Massena being a Jew has long since been exploded. It originated, I believe, in the assonance or anagrammatic association of Massena and Manasse.

ISRAEL ZANGWILL
(1864–1926)

a powerful Empire, happened to be of a kindred race.

Again, if there was a dearth of Jewish authors in 1885, the Jews have had more than their share since. In France alone, the names of the half-Jew, Montaigne, and of Anatole France (it is eighty per cent certain that the grand old man of European letters was at least a half-Jew, yet I set down his name here with a good deal of reserve), Marcel Proust and Henry Bernstein, must impress the skeptic. Austria has its Schnitzler and von Hofmannsthal; Germany, its Fulda, Feuchtwanger, Wassermann, Werfel, Toller and others of like magnitude. Even Holland, Denmark, Poland, Russia (Minski, Blok, and Babel) and Czechoslovakia have received greater recognition because of their Jewish authors than would otherwise have been their share.

In another place, the same writer asserts, "We may expect great mathematicians and philosophers from them but not, I think, great inventors, biologists or painters till they have had time to throw off the effects of their long seclusion from Nature." Again the finding may be taken exception to on the basis of present-day facts.

The reasons assigned for Jewish pre-eminence in music and philology are characteristic of the efforts made by mechanists and historical materi-

alists to explain a result of heredity, or constitutional make-up, by some circumstance which, were it no matter how incontrovertible, would be too trivial to account for the phenomenon. "The chief cause of the musical pre-eminence of Jews lies, in all probability, in the home character of their religion, which necessarily makes music a part of every Jewish home." Similarly, he supposes Jewish mastery in the field of philology, "in part due to their frequent change of country, and also to the fact that they have had an additional sacred language besides the vernacular."

It seems, one may just as well argue that the Jews have acquired a sense of good taste because of their having for generations partaken of the Sabbath "Cholent" and "Kugel." Such conjectures are unworthy of scientific men; and reasons for facts ought rather to be left unassigned than concocted in this manner.

(7) In the statistical treatment of famous persons born of a mixed marriage, we ought to adopt some equitable form of allotment. It would hardly be fair to regard all such half-Jews as if they were full-blooded Semites, although Jacobs seems to have shown no scruples in thus handling them, after he had affixed an asterisk to their name. One method of classing such individuals would be to count every two half-Jews as one

Jew, but I should consider this simple arithmetical device inadequate unless some biological sanction can be appealed to.

I have been gathering data on inheritance, so as to ascertain whether the son usually inherits his ability from his mother or from his father, likewise whether some generalization may be formulated as to the inheritance of aptitude on the part of women. So far, both statistics and biographical material seem to corroborate the inference implied in Galton's *Hereditary Genius* (although he appears to be reluctant to accept it), that there is a cross-inheritance of ability.

In this event, we should include on our Jewish roll of honor only such men of mixed marriages as have had a Jewish mother, and such women as were begotten by a Jewish father. To be sure, in some instances, the rule will not apply genetically, but in all likelihood these exceptions will in the long run balance themselves, and the margin of error will in general be negligible. At least we should have a psycho-biological principle to resort to in such evaluation.

Genius and Miscegenation

It has sometimes been thought, because of the relatively high percentage of eminent Jews born

of mixed marriages, that inter-crossing brings out the high qualities, or what would lead to the same result, reduces the number of dysgenic characters of both races. The argument has been put forth by many writers on race and genius, and lately has appeared in N. D. M. Hirsch's monograph "A Study of Natio-Racial Mental Differences" (*Genetic Psychology Monographs,* 1926, volume I.).

Naturally, the empirical evidence, based on statistical data, is supposed to make out a strong case for the thesis of assimilation; but on closer examination, we find that the well-known third possibility of the Scotch verdict must be brought out in our inquiry.

In the first place, the impressive list of names of such "blends" (a word I offer as a technical designation for half-breeds of a superior caliber) that Jacobs and, after him, others, including Hirsch, draw up dwindles down to a fraction of the original number; for only a smattering of general biography is sufficient to rule out nearly one-half of the list (such as Ludendorff, D'Annunzio, Robert Browning, Feuerbach, Cardinal Newman, Maeterlinck, and von Bethmann-Hollweg). Of the remaining half, about 15 per cent of the "great" men and women enumerated are really mediocre, and 10 per cent, including Berg-

son, Münsterberg, Sir Frederick Cowen, Anton Rubinstein and a few others are or were Jews on both sides of their lineage. It is quite obvious that, on a careful scrutiny, we shall be justified in writing on the brief, "No case, abuse the advocate."

Considering that intermarriage is likely to take place more among the eminent than among ordinary people, and also that as a consequence of conversion for reasons of convenience, the highly-gifted Jew would, as a matter of course, become the father or, very likely, the maternal grandfather of endowed half-Jews—there certainly is nothing remarkable in the relatively high number of superior half-Jews.

What is more, the facts seem to confirm the theory of heredity formulated above, *viz.,* that the son usually inherits his mentality from the mother; the daughter hers from the father. (Schopenhauer, in giving the mother all the credit for mentality, apparently derived his conclusion from an empirical survey of men's endowments alone.) If it should be shown, by taking each instance individually, that every half-Jewess was sired by a noted father, while every half-Jew was brought into the world by a gifted (although not necessarily distinguished or even highly-educated) mother, there can be but one inference, and

that is: the strain of genius is provided *not by the crossing of racial stock, but by the originally superior germ-plasm. Per contra,* if there should be either no significant correlation or an inverse correspondence in our statistical tables of semi-Jewish celebrities, our finding would have to be reversed.

In my casual observations thus far, let me say, I have been struck by the prevalence of the first condition, *viz.,* that pre-eminent half-Jews well-nigh invariably inherited their mother's mental superiority, and the few noted half-Jewesses in history derived their ability from their father, or to put it in less question-begging language, practically every brilliant half-Jew had a Jewish mother.

Let it not be construed that I am tacitly assuming the superiority of the Jewish mate in every mixed marriage. Such a conclusion would be wholly unwarranted and would go the Nordic complex one better. What seems reasonable, however, is the expectation that social conditions would favor the Gentile in intermarriage; in other words, that the Jew or Jewess would marry someone outside of the race who was considered socially superior but whose mentality was on a lower level. In the case of Negro intermarriages, this inequality seems to be the rule, and brings

into relief a phase of the principle of compensation. While not marked in Jewish and Gentile intermarriage, the tendency, nevertheless, is evident; and an investigation to prove or disprove this point should be a welcome piece of research.

CHAPTER III

THE LEAVEN IN MODERN CULTURE[1]

Jew-baiters of all descriptions are constantly airing the charge that the influence of the Jews is seen in every phase of civilization; and I remember reading a grotesque story by Thackeray ("*Codlingsby*"), travestying the weird notions about the inner working of the alleged Jewish world-conspiracy, in which the Pope is represented as a Jew. The Judeophobes, for once, are right in noticing the extent of Jewish influence in modern cultural achievement; but their motives and aims are reprehensible in that they bemoan the direction which civilization has taken.

Anti-Semites are usually mediævalists, reactionaries, scholastic in their mode of thinking, chauvinistic in their nationalism, imperialistic in their patriotism, and suspicious of every new movement or even scientific endeavor to discover new principles. Chesterton and Belloc in England, Drumont and Léon Daudet (incapable son of an illustrious father) in France, Wagner[2] and Cham-

[1] This essay first appeared in 1925.

[2] It is true that Wagner was a rebel himself, but he clad his music of the future in the swaddling-clothes of primitive legends.

berlain in Germany—they are all obsessed by the same idea of worship of the past, while the Jews, not only by their stubborn survival (thus preventing, in their own case, the past from actually remaining a completed story) but, further, by their work of promoting new conceptions and new standards, are doing more than any other people to internationalize civilization. Perhaps that is the reason why the reproach "International Jew" is so often hurled at them by men like Maxse and journals like the *National Review* in England and the *Dearborn Independent* in this country.

The inveterate foes of the Jews, because of their special cultural bias, have never tired proclaiming that the Jews are moving the wheels of civilization, but they further vociferate to the effect that the wheels are being moved in the wrong direction. The greatest intellectual achievement by a Jew in modern times, the scientific formulation of the relativity theory, is held to be fallacious—because it controverts Newton's principles, and also because it was based largely on the results of the research by another Jew, Michelson, who constructed the elaborate *interferometer,* in order to complete his epoch-making experiment on light.[1]

Due to this special inclination, the anti-Semites

[1] See Chapter XIII, "The Jews and Relativity."

are really of great service in bringing to light the origin, immediate or remote, of many eminent people who are more eager to promulgate their accomplishments than the fact of their ancestry. The mental attitude of the anti-Semitic tribe seems to express itself in the following words: "This man sets forth something new; let us see whether he is not a Jew, and if he is, we know what it all amounts to"; or "So-and-so has been extraordinarily successful. Surely, he must be a Jew." This tendency was evident to the extent of precipitating an alleged discovery of Jewish blood even in Hindenburg! How beholden the Jews must be to these beneficient, though malevolent, anti-Semites!

Yet, in spite of their genealogical service (which is, of course, greatly appreciated by the Jews), these Judeophobes have not fully grasped the extent to which Jewish influence has made itself felt in the various spheres of modern culture. They fail to realize that, *in addition to the contributions by outstanding giants, there is also an impetus lent by those who assist the giants in various ways.* Often, an atmosphere is created which brings about a certain result. The distinction I am endeavoring to drive home is that between *power* and *influence,* a distinction which is too little recognized even by the *intelligentsia.*

There are, on the one hand, powerful figures in religion, in science, in art, in philosophy, in literature, in finance, in discovery, titans who, single-handed, are able to revolutionize thought—the immovable movers (if it is permissible to use Aristotle's designation of a greater Power)—and, there are, on the other hand, mobile workers who, so to speak, form the court for the luminaries. It is quite true, as the proverb says, " Where the king is, there is his court "; but, it is no less true that a king without a court would be an anomaly, and his identity would even be questioned, as in the legend of King Solomon and the usurping Asmodæus.

But we shall have to resort to concrete instances in order to clarify the thought expressed here, and to show how Jewish influence has not been sufficiently appreciated. To take an ordinary illustration: Columbus was the *power* in discovering this continent, but the *influence* which gathered around this power consisted not only of the Jewish money which is said to have financed the voyage, but in the various astronomical tables, quadrants and Levi ben Gerson's *Jacob's Staff* [1] which were

[1] By the way, this instrument, which became indispensable to navigators in orientating themselves on the high seas, was invented in 1325, or exactly six hundred years ago; and yet, Voltaire, in his perversity, boldly asserted: *Le juif n'a rien inventé. Toute sa pensée est de l'argent.* The circumstances

used by Columbus, as well as in the fact that some members of his party were Jews, even if it cannot be satisfactorily established that he himself was a "son of the Covenant."

In another sphere, remote from the preceding one—music—the *powers* are, to be sure, the great composers; yet, no one who has read the biographies of the foremost tone-poets will fail to perceive that there was a distinctly Jewish atmosphere about some of them. (I have already treated this aspect with regard to Beethoven and Chopin in several essays, and in subsequent papers, I shall dwell on the relations between other famous musical heroes, particularly Brahms, Tchaikovsky and Liszt, and the Jews.) Mendelssohn, *as a power* in music, does not stand in the forefront, but *as an influence* in his generation he had no equal, as I have sought to prove elsewhere.

In religion—to take a still further instance—who could compare in prowess with the mighty Luther, who fought the most powerful organization on earth to a successful issue? Yet, Luther had his Jewish influence from the baptized Jew,

surrounding the discovery of America are an historical quip on this double charge, shattering not only the claim about the Jew's lack of inventive ability, but also the cavil about his money-mindedness.

Nicolas Lyra, about whose relation with the great reformer it was wittily said:

Si Lyra non lyrasset,
Luther non saltasset.[1]

Similarly, in philosophy, though the Jews have contributed more than their quota of *powers,* we must not forget to reckon with their *influences.* In fact, Moses Mendelssohn exercised a greater *influence* in his day than did the great Kant, who, however, was the greater *power* by all odds; and, together with Herz, Maimon, Bendavid and Friedlaender, the Dessau Jew supplied, 150 years ago, a philosophical atmosphere in Germany which has never been paralleled since.

Science is no exception; although, owing to their political and civil disabilities, the Jews were for centuries at a decided disadvantage. Let any one pick up Haskins's book, *Mediæval Science,* and he will be astonished to learn of the ubiquitous activities of the Jews during those dark ages. The book teems with Jewish names, revealing the influence of their bearers as translators, commentators, and, in general, promoters of learning. Jews, acting as editors of technical periodicals, and as secretaries of learned societies, all contribute to the advancement of science in a very

[1] If Lyra had not played, Luther would not have danced.

substantial way; yet, they may not be leaders who blaze new paths. Their work is, thus, often lost sight of, because it is not recognized as *personal* achievement. Nevertheless, they are directors of talent and concentrators of scientific effort.

There is no need of dwelling on the separation between *power* and *influence* any longer; but, one more illustration, taken close at hand, will possibly clinch the point. The late mystericist, Houdini, was certainly not an intellectual power in any sense—and, will most likely be remembered as a great performer rather than as a writer, lecturer or scientist—yet as an *influence* in modern thought serving to undermine the doctrine of spiritualism, his claim is incontestable. As an intellectual *force*, he is negligible; as an *influence* in exposing fraudulent mediums, he stands out more prominently than any scientist.

Before concluding this essay, let us take up briefly two problems arising out of our discussion. One is this: Why is it that this phase of Jewish culture—the *atmosphere*—has been so neglected, while the great men in Jewry have fared tolerably well in reference works, biographies and essays? The second question bears on the relatively brief duration of Jewish influence.

The answer to both questions is simple; and yet, it requires considerable space to treat it

adequately. In a word, however, it is not difficult to understand that *influence* or *atmosphere* is a much more elusive thing, a more complex situation to handle than productions, works, discoveries, and the like. There is a name attached to the latter; a personal association, which encyclopedists can, and must, put their fingers on. A young child can link up Columbus's name with the discovery of America; but, only a mature mind, with a general fund of information and a synthetic grasp of ideas, can feel his way into the *atmosphere* which surrounded this fact.

The second question—as to why Jewish *influence* is so short-lived in memory—partly depends, for its disposition, on the foregoing answer. Naturally, the *influence* has done its work; but it is forgotten too soon, even by specialists, because it is not recorded as of special value. It is taken as routine work, which does not deserve to be perpetuated in the annals. If the well were dry, however, the votaries of learning would soon get to know the difference. We are here reminded of the words Schiller put into the mouth of one of his heroes:

> *Der Mohr hat seine Arbeit getan;*
> *Der Mohr kann gehen.*

Without the Jewish publishing houses (in

France, the firm of Michel Lévy, who was eulogized by Ernest Renan, while his brother Calmann, more recently, received equal praise from the late Anatole France, and that of Félix Alcan, were a source of comfort and encouragement to men of genius, in some cases actually coaxing young authors to produce works or to collect their essays), Jewish editors[1] and patrons (like Schiff, Altman, Guggenheim, Ochs, Loewy, Fuld, Bamberger, Lewisohn, and James Loeb, founder of the Classical Library; while in Austria, a young Jewish financier was reported to have prevented the bankruptcy and shutting down of the University of Vienna, through his munificent gifts)—without this Jewish stimulation and equipment, the facilities for creative work would have been decidedly poorer.

There, are, however, other reasons. One, in particular touches a delicate spot. The too well-known barrier set up in their way made it nigh impossible for Jewish scholars, scientists, artists, etc., *to enjoy a circle of influential pupils, who could carry on their work;* while the clinics, laboratories, museums, and various other collections were never completely at their disposal. They lacked the facilities to expand, and to bequeath their tradition through the personal touch.

Conditions have not improved, even at present,

[1] See Chapter XIV, "Jews as Scientific Editors."

in certain countries; but there are forces, largely due to increased intercommunication, counteracting this deplorable handicap; and, once the Jews awaken to the necessity of learning about the doings of their cultural *élite,* instead of acquainting themselves with the gossip about Jewish actors, boxers, politicians, baseball players and wrestlers, their *influence* as a people will not be so easily ignored by the world at large.

CHAPTER IV

THE JEWS AND GENIUS

Ever since higher or pseudo-scientific anti-Semitism, "made in Germany" and refined in France, has put in its appearance on the intellectual horizon, the Jews have been subjected to the reproach that they are devoid of genius. This chord, or rather discord, has been harped upon *ad nauseam* in but a single key. It is not denied by even such a fanatic as Wagner that the Jews are to this very day playing a prominent part in the affairs of the world, but of course the contention is that they are merely *influential* factors rather than leaders, that at most they can be said to possess talent, genius being entirely outside their sphere.

The relation between Jew-baiting of the ordinary brand and "scientific" anti-Semitism can scarcely be delineated, and were it not for the fact that those who decry the Jew on scientific principles disclaim any anti-Semitic bias, we should be

inclined to see no distinction between the two. After all, the Roumanian *pogromists* are only ***higher*** anti-Semites of a *lower* order. Had they the erudition of a Houston Stewart Chamberlain they might have written *The Foundations of the Ninteenth Century,* and were he as impetuous and suggestible as they, he probably would have acted out his conclusions concerning the Jews in a less brilliant, though more " striking," manner.

Deplorable as it is that the distorted views of the cynic Voltaire, the renegade Chamberlain and his highly-gifted and just as highly egotistic father-in-law, Richard Wagner, should enjoy such a wide vogue among the intellectuals with an artistic bent of mind, it is nothing short of pathetic to find so many of our own people carried away by the prestige of these men and their like to such an extent that they are prepared to accept their pronouncements as sacrosanct.

As may be suspected, Voltaire's hatred for the Jews is traceable to a personal incident in his life. His shady dealings with Jewish tradespeople have been sufficiently dwelt upon by Graetz, in his *History of the Jews,* to make it unnecessary for me to relate them here. Similarly, Wagner's attitude was partly due to the fact that he was spurned in love by a Jewish maiden who apparently recognized in Wagner the self-centered egotist before

she could discover in him the future creator of the music drama.[1] (The stormy scene in her house, at which the Pan-German composer lost all self-control, is vividly pictured in Henry Finck's *Wagner,* vol. I.) Largely, however, Wagner's essay on Judaism in music was provoked by envy at the popularity of Meyerbeer, who was, by the way, his benefactor, and Mendelssohn.

Houston Stewart Chamberlain's anti-Semitic rôle dates probably from the time he donned the livery of Wagner, whose daughter he married in 1878. Extolling the Germans to the skies was, of course, the stepping-stone for gaining the opportunity to fawn upon the ex-Kaiser, who, in his turn, regarded Chamberlain as a genius. To be a British Teutomaniac is a rare distinction, but it is not singular that Chamberlain should have combined with his Teutomania an enmity toward the Jews; for *Teutomania* and *Judeophobia* seem to be complementary mental disturbances.

As for Otto Weininger, the Jewish prodigy, who shot himself at the age of 23 and whose *Sex and Character* ran into six German editions in the space of three years, the scientific temper of that

[1] It is possible, too, that in his mortification at the repeated assertion that his Jewish stepfather, Ludwig Geyer, was his natural father, Wagner wished to efface every vestige of an impression that he was connected with the race of his stepfather.

freak may be gathered from the following paragraph: "Because fear of God in the Jew has no relation with real religion, the Jew is of all persons the least perturbed by mechanistic-materialistic theories of the world; just as he is most readily beguiled by Darwinism and the ridiculous notion that men are derived from monkeys, so has he practically generated that economic conception of human history which most completely rules the spirit out of the development of the human race."

In all these cases, we can put our finger on the very aberrations that were responsible for the ranting statements concerning the Jews, but an idea may be sound even though its advocate be unbalanced, hence whatever the causes or motives of the attitude taken by Chamberlain, Wagner and Weininger, we must examine the validity of their conclusions just as if they had come from the most objective of investigators.

But, alas, this is by no means an easy task, for while they all agree in deprecating the Jews after the most sonorous fashion, there is no consensus as to the specific faults and defects of their victims. Not only do they contradict one another, but at times they are even at variance with what they themselves have emphatically stated in other passages. How is one to become oriented in a labyrinth of contradiction and confusion?

Even the tyro in scientific method must stand agape at the way virtues are turned into vices simply because the Jews happen to be endowed with them. Renan, in his youthful *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues semitiques,* depreciate them for not having been idol-worshippers or, as he put it more romantically, for not having risen to the conception of polytheism. Chamberlain, on the other hand, condemns the Jews for lapsing *too often* into idolatry, while Weininger brazenly maintains that " so far from the Jew being religious, as has been assumed, he is profoundly irreligious "—and this about a race that has given to the world the three greatest religions.

One staggers before the gross misinterpretation on the part of these higher anti-Semites, and yet their strictures seem to have taken root among the *élite,* who are befuddled by their tinsel terms and glittering phraseology.

If there ever was a profound philosopher in this world, it was Spinoza, yet we are told by this possessed prodigy, Weininger, that " for Spinoza himself there was no deep problem in nature." How almost sacrilegious to treat so shamelessly the font at which Goethe imbibed his purest inspiration! And furthermore, the very marvel of Spinoza's insight—his conception of

freedom—is reduced by our perverted critic to crass materialism. Because Spinoza rejected the "free-will" doctrine we are to infer that the "Jew is always a slave and a determinist." Let it be known then that modern psychology, which leaves no room for freedom of the will, must consequently be a slave psychology. Science must be reconstructed to suit the fancy of a youth like Weininger!

The great demerit of Spinoza seems to be the fact that the conclusions he reached nearly 300 years ago are more in accord with the findings of contemporary psychology than those of any other philosopher, including Kant. But hold! There is another taint to Spinoza. "The Jew is never a believer in monads. And so there is no wider philosophical gulf than that between Spinoza and his much more eminent contemporary Leibniz, the protagonist of the monad theory." A devil-worshiper might just as well take the Jews to task for not realizing the grandeur of devil-worship!

In one passage Weininger declares that "just as Jews and women are without extreme good and extreme evil, so they never show either genius or the depth of stupidity of which mankind is capable." Yet, a dozen pages farther, we read: "As in the Jew there are the greatest possibilities,

so also in him are the meanest actualities." Self-contradiction is evidently the method of Weininger's madness. Finding the Jews in the closest relationship with the British, he asserts that the English, like women, have been most unproductive in religion and in music. It is perplexing, then, to discover the basis of kinship between the English and the Jews when we consider that the Jews were *most* productive in religion and in music.

Chamberlain's mode of procedure is just as coarse, just as irrational, as that of his disciple. His partiality is so flagrant that even the most infantile *naïveté* cannot be accepted as an excuse. The quotations furnished by Chamberlain in order to bolster up his cause are always *ex parte* expressions of men who were known to be inimical to the Jews. To prove his point that the Jews are an inferior lot, especially in matters of religion, he adduces an illustration from the life of the famous encyclopedist, Diderot, who, though a free thinker, could be moved to such fervor, after contemplating the personality of Jesus, as to exclaim, "*Voilà mon Dieu et j'ose me plaindre.*" Now, Chamberlain has ransacked libraries of books by Jewish writers for similar expressions, but in vain—which all goes to show that the Jews are incapable of such sentiments as reverence. If such a passage (vol. I of the 1901 German

edition, page 329) is not greeted with convulsive laughter on the part of the intelligent reader, then there surely must be something organically the matter with him.

In Chamberlain's estimation, Ernest Renan's statement in his early work on the *History of Semitic Languages* regarding the inferiority of the Semitic race, as compared with the Indo-European, is to be taken as the last word on that head. But lo, later in life, Renan delivered an address in which he drew a sharp line of cleavage between Judaism as a religion and the Jews as a race; and that point of view is already sufficient for our British renegade to stamp Renan as a man of dubious methods. In fact, Chamberlain openly accuses him of playing up to his influential Jewish friends.

Perhaps it would have been well for the British Teutomaniac to look into Renan's exquisitely-written *Souvenirs de l'enfance et de jeunesse* where he tells us that though he had given up the belief in miracles so many years back, he could not help envisaging the "unique destiny of the Jewish people * * * as something in a class by itself." But there is a greater surprise in store for the lackey of the Hohenzollerns in regard to Renan's attitude toward the Jews. In the same *Recollections,* which Renan wrote at

the age of sixty, the observation is made by the great Frenchman that "*Germany, after devoting herself entirely to military life, would have had no talent left if it were not for the Jews, to whom she has been so ungrateful.*"

Renan wrote his appreciation in 1883, while ex-Ambassador Gerard, who certainly knew all the ins and outs of Germany, had occasion to remark, thirty-five years later: "Germany boasts of her *Kultur,* her learning, that she is pre-eminent in philosophy, literature and art. But that is not true. It is not they—but the Jews, the Jews. Take away the Jews from all branches of her culture, and Germany is destitute."

Renan's opinion was seconded by an equally famous man, though in a different field of endeavor. In 1884, Sir William Osler wrote: "Should another Moses arise and preach a Semitic exodus from Germany, and should he prevail, they would leave the land impoverished far more than was ancient Egypt by the loss of the 'jewels of gold and jewels of silver,' of which the people were 'spoiled' * * * There is not a profession which would not suffer the serious loss of many of its most brilliant ornaments, and in none more so than in our own." (Harvey Cushing's *The Life of Sir William Osler,* vol. I, page 215.)

It is not my intention to attempt an *exposé* of all the vagaries contained in the splenetic writings of Chamberlain, Weininger and others of their ilk. This were a tedious task, and besides, the game would hardly be worth the candle. Yet their glittering phrases have deceived many a reader. Their inconsequential prattle has raised a very important issue. This issue, so far as I am aware, has not been as yet satisfactorily met by Jewish writers; and it has not been met because its import has not been fully understood.

Herder, the intense German nationalist of the eighteenth century, was not the first Gentile to underrate Jewish genius, and Weininger is not the last Jew to out-Herder Herder. Again and again the question comes up whether the Jews are capable of producing truly great men, geniuses of the first order, and each time the matter is settled apodeictically in the negative. It goes without saying that the matter was never threshed out dispassionately. The methods pursued were of the *ipse dixit* kind. No attempt was made to define the problem, to examine its significance and implications. The ill-feeling against the Jew had, of course, to find an outlet, and a little cool deliberation might have succeeded in stopping up this outlet.

Before the Jews can be disparaged on the

ground that they have not given the world a proportionate number of great men, the following questions must be adequately answered:

(1) What shall be our criterion in estimating greatness?

(2) Is it not possible that Jewish geniuses have been underrated by the Indo-Germanic races?

(3) Is the comparison to be instituted between the Jews and any one people, or is it to be between the Jews on the one hand and the whole non-Jewish world on the other—certainly an unfair method of comparison?

(4) Have the Jews, during the mediæval period and as late as the nineteenth century (the twentieth century in some countries), had equal opportunities with their oppressors for developing their aptitudes?

(5) Can we not cite names of Jews who were indisputably men of genius?

(6) Is it not certain that many of the most gifted Jewish families were either exterminated or forced to give up their identity as Jews by the forerunners of Voltaire, Chamberlain *et aliorum*?

(7) Suppose it were conceded that the Jews have not brought forth geniuses of the first order, shall we say that they have played a secondary part in the progress of the world if, as a com-

pensatory contribution on their part, they supplied the world with thousands of lesser lights? In other words, is it more advantageous to civilization to produce a single genius and to be otherwise sterile than to give birth to a number of eminent men whose combined achievement would outweigh in importance the achievement of the one giant?

We see then that the original issue resolves itself into no fewer than seven subsidiary problems each of which demands separate treatment. Doctrinaires of the Chamberlain school and our own gullible brethren, who were inveigled by the prestige he and other brilliant ranters enjoyed prior to the European conflict, never took the trouble to analyze the issue with any pretense at weighing the facts of the situation.

For the Jew, the Middle Ages have extended not for eight or nine or ten centuries, but for nearly two thousand years, and they were unbearably dark and dreary. Only with his emancipation in Germany, in France and in Great Britain did his renaissance begin.

The three greatest personalities in history—need I mention the names of Moses, Jesus and Spinoza?—belonged to the Jewish race. We may sometimes be in doubt as to whether Kant or

Spinoza is the more profound philosopher, but the slightest acquaintance with both their biographies would be sufficient to confirm us in the conviction that the Amsterdam lens grinder was the greater man. Furthermore, what would have been the extent of Spinoza's achievement had he lived in the eighteenth century and enjoyed the academic training of Kant, whom it took a Hume "to arouse from his dogmatic slumber"? What would Kant's position have been in the history of philosophy, if he had had no systematic education, if he were treated as an outcast, if he had to grind lenses in order to eke out his ninepence a day, and, finally, if he were cut off at the age of forty-four, after a slowly consuming disease had preyed upon his frail body for years? If Kant had died at the age of forty-four, his name would not have loomed as large as that of Salomon Maimon, who was, according to Kant's own testimony, the profoundest and most penetrating of all his critics.

The Jews have produced no Shakespeare, but neither have the French nor the Germans. The Semitic race cannot boast of a Beethoven, but the British are in no better plight, and for that matter even the Germans should not claim him entirely as their own, for, on his father's side, he came of Flemish stock. Michelangelo and

Raphael have no equals among the Jews, as if the Germans were able to produce artists that might in any way be said to compare with the two Italian geniuses! Suffocated until they could hardly keep alive, the Jews are expected to have turned out composers like Bach and Beethoven, sculptors like Michelangelo and painters like Raphael!

It is a marvel beyond comprehension how, under such dire circumstances, there could have arisen a Spinoza, a Mendelssohn, a Maimon, a Heine, a Disraeli and an Antokolski. The Jews have scarcely begun to understand what it means to be free, and already Max Liebermann is a "name to conjure with, not only in Berlin, his birthplace and present home, but in all Germany, and, for that matter, the wide world" (from Huneker's *Ivory, Apes and Peacocks*), while Jozef Israëls, in spite of Weininger's sneers, is acknowledged on all hands to be the greatest *genre* painter of the nineteenth century. Léon Bakst was the greatest scenic decorator of our time, while Solomon Solomon is a former president of the British Royal Academy.

Is it not significant that the most outstanding figure in political economy is that of David Ricardo, an autodidact who, in his acumen and power of analysis, surpassed the great Scotchman,

Adam Smith? And now that Bismarck's Machiavellian statecraft is appearing more and more in its proper light, can anyone point to a greater political genius than Disraeli, who, according to the writer in the *Encyclopedia Britannica,* was "remembered after death more widely, lastingly, respectfully, affectionately, than any other statesman in the long reign of Queen Victoria," and who filled a "greater space in the mind of England twenty years after death than Peel or Palmerston after five"? Lord Acton was of the opinion that Stahl, in Germany, was an abler statesman and exercised a more lasting influence over his countrymen than did Disraeli—and Stahl was a Jew by birth. At present there are few European ministries without Jewish members. Great Britain with a Lord High Chancellor (Lord Herschell) and Premier of Jewish descent, with a Jewish Lord Chief Justice and Viceroy of India, as well as several members in the Cabinet, is still in the lead, so far as fairness goes; but then France has had its Gambetta, Crémieux, Klotz, and Bokanowski, who recently met a tragic death when his aeroplane exploded; Italy has entrusted its affairs in the hands of Wollemborg, Ottolenghi, Luzzatti and Sonnino; in Denmark, Edvard Brandes had been steering the ship of state for some time as minister of finance, while now

the very countries in which the Jews could not attain public office have been looking up to them for their salvation.

It was Walther Rathenau, so wantonly murdered by a fiendish anti-Semite, who played the most important part in the reconstruction of Germany after its *post bellum* collapse. No one since has had a more responsible task in Germany, and no one acquitted himself so creditably as this philosopher-statesman. In Bavaria, Kurt Eisner rose to the presidency of the Communistic Republic, but he, too, was cut down by a dastardly assassin.

The first constitution of the German Republic was drafted by Hugo Preuss, not because his name sounded Prussian, but for the reason that no one else in Germany could grapple with the gigantic problems involved in a work of such magnitude. Thus, we see that the stones rejected by the masons became the cornerstones of the vast structure.

It is *not* with any sense of self-complacence that we point to Freud, Husserl, and Bergson as the leaders in modern thought. Of the Jews who died during the World War, we find that Hermann Cohen was regarded, in academic circles, as the profoundest philosopher of his day. Durkheim towered above everyone else in sociology.

Baginsky was the world's most recognized authority on pediatrics, and Ludwig Edinger was probably the best-known German neurologist.

No less a mathematician than Bertrand Russell, we note, pays homage, in his *Principles of Mathematics,* to Georg Cantor, who unveiled new horizons for him.

Turning to the more cultural pursuits, it will be seen that Salomon Reinach rules the archæological world, while Georg Brandes is without an equal in the domain of literary criticism. In the much more restricted province of Italian painting, Bernhard Berenson enjoys a similar reputation.

Let us not be tempted to dwell on the recent Jewish contribution to the physical sciences. It is universally conceded that Einstein is the world's foremost mathematical physicist, but even in experimental physics, one can point to Yoffe in Russia, who, as I gather from a reliable source, has refused the extraordinary salary of twenty thousand dollars as a professor in an American institute, and an almost unlimited income at the General Electric Company as the successor of Steinmetz. Yoffe is devoting not only his vast energy but even the material fruits of his labors to the development of his Physical Institute in Russia. Nernst, the director of the Physical Institute in Berlin, has also been cited as a Jew

by British scientists during the World War, but I have seen no confirmation of this contention. It is not necessary, however, to dilate on Semitic eminence in physics and chemistry, as the chapters on "Jews and Relativity" and "Jews and the Nobel Prize" discuss this subject in greater detail.

It is encouraging to note that the Jews in our own country are not lagging behind. Let it be recorded that Albert Abraham Michelson was the first American to be awarded the Nobel Prize in the sphere of science and letters, while Simon Flexner, a prospective Nobel Prize man in the medical sciences, has been president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Poor Wagner! How his fulminations to stem the tide of Jewish influence in the musical world have come to naught! Would he not have turned in his grave if he knew that French has the supremacy over German music just at present, largely by virtue of Saint-Saëns (whose Jewish descent and fondness for the very artists that Wagner had belittled were discussed in the *Mercure de France*), Maurice Ravel,[1] Paul Dukas, Florent Schmitt and other French composers of Jewish origin. The venerable Saint-Saëns, whose music is the quintessence of melody, has been

[1] Ravel's belated denial of his being a Jew by race does not seem to be taken seriously in musical circles.

very active in his opposition to the pompously dull German sentimentalism with which most of the Wagnerian music-dramas are instinct.

How Wagner would have raved over the fact that the eternally delightful Carmen, by the Jew Bizet, has borne out the high expectations of Brahms, and that the very Meyerbeer whom he had so bespattered—*sic transit gloria mundi*—is beginning to retrieve his prestige, at least in this country. Naturally the war, in 1914, was partly responsible for this attitude, but may we not say that German propaganda and self-advertisement have been so rampant in matters cultural that only now can we obtain a proper perspective of the musical situation?

Since Wagner wrote his famous pasquinade on Meyerbeer and Mendelssohn, the Jews have advanced in music by leaps and bounds. Rubinstein was just beginning to gain prominence, Goldmark was not yet known, while Mahler was still to come. It would be interesting to know what Wagner might have said about the modernistic musical miscellanies of Schönberg, Korngold, Bloch and Ornstein.

The sight of so many distinguished composers and conductors of Jewish origin, not to mention the Semitic sway in the world of interpretation and technique ever since the days of Ferdinand

David, would certainly have chagrined the author of *Judaism in Music,* and would have provoked him undoubtedly to the extent of repeating his contention that the Jews were able to make headway in that sphere only because music as an art is degenerating; but if so, how greatly indebted must the world be to the Jews for keeping alive a spark of genius in a decadent civilization!

CHAPTER V

THE TRIBE OF LEVY IN FRANCE

A NOTE FOR EUGENICISTS

The French Jews have always excited in me both curiosity and admiration. To think that the prince of commentators, the great Rashi, whose name was known and revered by even the most old-fashioned bearded immigrants, had lived in France and spoke the language of the cassocked priests (I would meet so often in the streets of M) and of the sturdy monks, with their shaven heads and sandaled feet, who always inspired me with a strange awe! It was difficult to believe that words used by my sworn enemies in encounters with whom after school hours I was practically always worsted (for the reason that they were older and called on their friends for aid) could be found in the peculiar lines just below the sacred text. And many a wintry evening, while watching, amidst the indefinite and yet ineffably expressive chimes, the procession of seminarians from the *Collège* for the Vespers service in the

high-spired cathedral on Rue St. Denis, would I connect the miracles told of Rashi with the forms which glided by on the creaking ice.

A little later, on becoming acquainted with the Talmud, I learnt that those mighty minds who were responsible for the brain-racking column (*Tosafot*) at the left of the text, difficult enough in itself, were also Frenchmen, some of them being Rashi's grandchildren. It was all so marvelous because France seemed, from the point of view of a youngster, the last place in the world to have bred religious luminaries whose names were to be household words in Jewry throughout the world.

Even now, the wonder has not worn off. No, I find it even more justified in the knowledge that the comparatively small band of French Jews have been, especially since their emancipation, in the vanguard of French culture. No art, no science, no field of human endeavor but what has been cultivated of late by Jewish genius. If it is true, as K. E. Franzos, I believe, remarked, that every country has the Jews it deserves, we must gather then that France is the most worthy country on earth; for in no other land have the sons of Israel so distinguished themselves as in the land of Rashi and the pious Rabeinu Tam (his grandson). Perhaps in no other country were they

accorded equal opportunities, but this is a disputable point. The fact remains that the French Jews have risen to heights scarcely attained by "pure" Frenchmen; and, considering their small numbers and their growing assimilationism, the intellectual vitality of our Gallic brethren is amazing. The German Jews have, of course, achieved great things, but in proportion to the attainments of non-Jews in their country, their record falls far behind that of their French co-religionists, or rather race-fellows. It must be said, however, that a number of the greatest French Jews have come from German Jewish stock.

The history of French Jewry is yet to be written. It was only recently that we learnt of the half-Jewish descent of Montaigne, the man whose literary and liberalizing influence dominated Europe for centuries, and similarly of the partly Jewish parentage of Jean Bodin and Michel de L'Hôpital, apostles of peace and toleration, whose endeavors were mainly responsible for the edict of Nantes more than three hundred years ago. But let us confine ourselves to the last generation only: asked to name the greatest composer of his day, we should have no difficulty making out a good case for the late Saint-Saëns who, sad to say, never acknowledged his racial affiliations, much as his features proclaimed the fact and confirmed

the persistent reports spread by intimate friends. If we are looking for a philospher who, though still living, has already become a classic figure in the history of philosophy, we are certain to be told of Bergson. Salomon Reinach is the foremost living archæologist, and incidentally, after charming the students of Greek culture with his *Apollo* and more than fifty other works, this Jew has given to the world the best concise history of Christianity we have, just as another Jew, Neander, or David Mendel, as he was called before he renounced Judaism, wrote the great and voluminous *History of the Christian Religion.*

Returning, however, to our French Jews, we find Durkheim (whose death in 1919 was due largely to his overwhelming grief over the loss of his brilliant son on the battlefield), the leading sociologist of his generation. In art, the name of Camille Pissarro stands out as a founder of the impressionistic school. Among the winners of the Nobel Prize in physics and chemistry we have Lippmann and Moissan who, according to Professor Arthur Schuster, was of Jewish descent. As for philologists, there have been Jews on the topmost rung in practically every branch, from Bréal in semantics to Oppert in Assyriology, Halévy in the African branches of the Semitic languages, and Sylvain Lévi in Sanskrit.

The best representatives of French music to-day are Maurice Ravel[1], and, to a less extent, Paul Dukas, Darius Milhaud, and Florent Schmitt. But it is not my purpose here to exhaust the list of the Jewish giants in France. I cannot resist, however, mentioning the fact that the colossus of European letters, Anatole France, has been repeatedly linked with the Jewish race—and on one or two occasions by persons of authority and weight in biographical particulars.

What has prompted me to write on this topic is the desire not so much to call attention to Franco-Jewish achievement as to dwell on the rare distinction which the tribe of Levy has curiously secured in France. Such a phenomenon is noteworthy, even if no explanation should be available, particularly because there is no reason for supposing that there is an abundance of Levites in France or that they exceed the number of Jews with variants of this surname in other countries. It would hardly surprise us to discover that *no other patronymic in France is attached to so many illustrious men.* Compared with the Cohens, in their French variants, such as Caën,

[1] It is true that Maurice Ravel has lately disclaimed being a Jew, but it took him two decades before he thought of filing his disclaimer. There is a great temptation to include the Swiss composer Honegger, but the dispute over his racial lineage makes it advisable to omit his name for the time being.

Cahen, Kahn, Kohn, and Cahun, the Lévis and Halévys, both in the quality and in the number of distinguished men, are so far in the lead that one must regard this circumstance not as a chance occurrence.

But it may be asked whether our judgment may not be biased in favor of the subject of this essay, since it is natural to become enthusiastic about anything in which one is especially interested. To meet any criticism of this sort, I have appealed to such a reliable and objective reference work as the *New International Encyclopedia,* which in its comprehensiveness and impartiality, to my mind, excels all other encyclopedias, not excluding the *Encyclopedia Britannica.* If any partiality is shown in a reference work, it is usually on the side of notables who belong to the country in which the work is published. We should not expect, then, the Halévys and Lévis to figure in the *New International Encyclopedia,* unless they were really celebrities of indisputable claim. Here we find space devoted to the composer of *La Juive,* " which is deservedly recognized as a classic," his brother, Léon Halévy, two of whose works were crowned by the French Academy, the latter's son, Ludovic, whose *L'Abbé Constantin* " is world-renowned for its charm," and in whose works " we easily discern the characteristic traits

of Halévy's genius—taste, refinement and pathos," and finally Joseph Halévy, who receives half a column in this much condensed encyclopedia. It is only to satisfy the most captious critic that I have turned to such a reference work in confirmation of my claim; for the genius of Jacques Fromenthal Halévy, who wielded an influence even in musical circles outside of France, is too well-known, as is that of his nephew, Ludovic, who was the first Jew to be elected to the body of " forty immortals " in France. The brother of Jacques and father of Ludovic, it is true, is not so famous, but the sketch of him in the *Nouvelle biographie générale* is full of praise for his works, which include poetry, drama, history and fables. As to Joseph Halévy, the extent of his labors on behalf of the African languages and philology, the French Government, the Falashas in Abyssinia and the Jews in general can scarcely be estimated at the present time. He was certainly one of the two greatest Orientalists of his time, the Jew, Oppert, being the other—unless it is Derenbourg, of the same race.

Now, turning to the Lévis and Lévys in the same encyclopedia, we note Sylvain Lévi (who visited America recently on a French mission), the foremost Sanskrit scholar in France and probably in the world; Auguste Michel Lévy, the min-

eralogist and engineer, and Raphaël-Georges Lévy, France's most distinguished political economist, whose book *The Peace of Justice* has just been published in an English translation with a preface by Premier Poincaré. All we have to do to convince ourselves of the superiority of the French branch of the Levites is to consult the encyclopedia, where the Levis and Levys of all other countries take a second place. But in order to do justice to the French members of the tribe with this surname, it is necessary to become acquainted with the achievements of the Jews in France. Neither the *Jewish Encyclopedia* nor other works purporting to give information about noted Jews are in any way adequate. I have made a list of about thirty Frenchmen by this name, or one of its variants, who have made valuable contributions in the spheres of letters, science, art and public life. It would take too much space to reproduce the whole inventory, but we may at least consider, in addition to those already mentioned, the following leaders:

Armand Lévy, who about a hundred years ago was a professor of mineralogy.

Michel and *Calmann Lévy*—an old publishing firm ever on the lookout for scholars and meritorious work.

Michel Lévy—one of the most eminent sur-

geons in France, during the middle of the last century, and director of the Val de Grâce Medical School.

Maurice Lévy—distinguished engineer and professor of mechanics at the Collège de France, also a member of the French Institute.

Élie Halévy—leading authority on the radical movement in philosophy. (His recent *History of the English People* has just been translated into English.)

Albert Lévy—a sculptor of great talent.

Alphonse Lévy—a painter and officer of the Académie des Beaux-Arts.

Bénoit Lévy—who is gaining an international reputation for his work in landscape architecture.

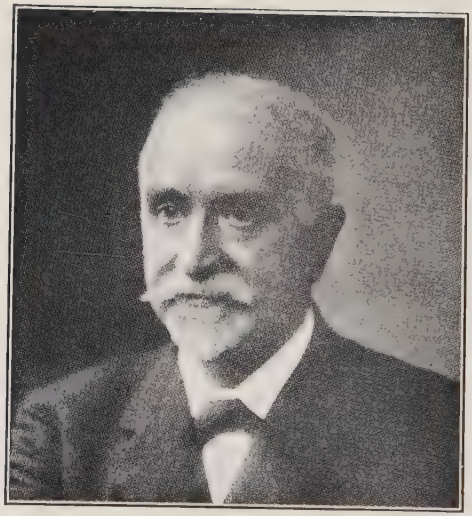
Albert Lévy—professor, at Toulouse, and author.

Lucien Lévy—physicist and mathematician.

Paul Émile Lévy—who was Bernheim's associate at the Nancy clinic where possibly Coué gathered his wisdom.

And let us not forget that the present Chief Rabbi of France is also a Lévi—incidentally one of the most versatile scholars in France. His predecessor was a Kahn (Zadoc).

But we must stop somewhere. It is clear, I think, that no country can offer such a galaxy of Levys; and the remarkable feature of these



LUCIEN LÉVY-BRUHL
(1857-)

practically assimilated Jews is the tenacity with which they cling to their surname. Not only will they spurn the example of our newly transformed Eliots and Cabots, Gainsboroughs, Lhévinnes, Wilsons, etc., not only will they refuse to Gallicize their names to La Vie or Le Vœu, Lavisse or Lévis, but they are even anxious to retain their mother's family name if she happens to be a Lévy. We thus have such combinations as Lévy-Bruhl, Lévy-Strauss and Lévy-Dhurmer. Lévy-Bruhl's apparent eagerness to reveal his antecedents did not prevent him from becoming one of the chief figures in French philosophy, president of the French Institute and the editor, at Ribot's dying request, of the *Revue Philosophique,* nor would Lévy-Dhurmer have been better recognized as a portrait painter if he had dropped the maternal surname.

Another of the hyphenated Lévis is David Lévi-Alvarès (1794-1870) who was a master of textbook writing. His handbook of physics brought out under the title of *Les pourquoi et les parce que ou la physique populaire* enjoyed such popularity as to warrant at least 23 editions, thus showing that even a hundred years ago a Jew had anticipated the Dorseys of to-day (*Hows and Whys,* etc.) but, it is to be hoped, had accomplished to better purpose what he had set out to do.

Are we to assume that there are a great many more Jews in France whose ancestors have taken on for a name some form of the name Levy than in other countries? Or may we gather that the Lévis in France have come from a specially good stock? If so, then we must further suppose that they encouraged inbreeding; for even the best stock would be exposed to the consequences of marrying into poorer stocks. I shall not attempt to settle this question now, but rather commend it to the attention of the eugenicists. Of one thing we may be quite certain, and that is the pride which the French namesakes of our Levys take in their Jewish surname—a pride which at once bespeaks their moral fibre and in part, at least, explains the glorious achievements of their possessors.

The Levis in Italy

Although the Lévis and Halévys in France have added glory to their fatherland as well as to their tribe, the Levis in Italy or of Italian nativity have hardly been outshone in their literary, scientific and philosophical achievements by their French namesakes. While it is true that the Italian Levis have not made for themselves an international reputation in the same degree as

their French brethren, we must remember the advantage of French over Italian as a circulating medium. The Italian Levis have shown eminence especially as historians, compilers, literary critics and writers. Among the foremost authorities in literature we may mention Angelo Raffaello Levi who has to his credit at least a dozen works on the English, French and Italian literatures; Cesare Levi, a leading writer on the Italian theatre; the poet and patriot, David Levi; and Eugenia Levi, who is a noted compiler and anthologist, in addition to being Professor of German Literature at the Institute for Higher Education for Women at Florence. There are four other women writers possessing the same surname: Maria, Noemi, Julia and Augusta.

There is scarcely a field in which an Italian Levi has not made valuable explorations. Mosè Raffaello Levi was a physiologist of no mean order, his book on cellular pathology having been translated into German. In engineering, we can point out the name of Carlo Levi. As an archæologist, Cesare Augusto Levi enjoys a vast reputation. The lawyer, Giorgio Enrico Levi, who was born in Egypt, made important contributions to law, his most laborious task being a bibliography of writings on the duel (over 600 pages), a work which he completed with the aid of Jacopo

Gelli. More directly affecting the science of jurisprudence is the contribution of Angelo Levi.

If Italian philosophy cannot be said to breed the counterparts of Bergson or Husserl among its Jewish devotees, the philosophical scope at least of Adolfo and Alessandro Levi, both critics and historians of keen insight, is of sufficient breadth to attract wide attention. The Italian philologists and classical scholars number at least half a dozen Levis who have enriched the field. While Ezio Levi has won enviable laurels by reason of his works on and editions of the mediæval legends and ballads, Attilio Levi has undertaken some significant investigations along etymological lines; Giorgio Levi Della Vida is rapidly making a name for himself as an Orientalist; and one of the noted Italian Hellenists is Leone Levi.

Of the other Leone Levis, one, who emigrated to London in his youth, became a leading political economist. He may be looked upon as easily the most distinguished of the Levites in England. Another Leone Levi rendered signal service to that branch of medicine known as dermatology. Born in Genoa in 1861, Leone Levi soon established a reputation for himself as an authority on venereal diseases through his numerous monographs on these and other skin diseases. A still more con-

spicuous figure in medicine nearly a century ago was Mosè Giuseppe Levi, whose career was marked by brilliant researches.

Aside from Levi-Civita, a world figure in applied mathematics and mechanics, Eugenio Elia Levi and Beppo Levi have been active in mathematical circles. Mathematics and literature (from the historical and interpretative angles) seem to appeal most to the Italian Jewish intellect. At least, it is there that their *forte* is most in evidence. History too has its attraction for the Italian Levis. Primo Levi, although interested in music and art in general, nevertheless has shed new light on certain obscure periods of Italian history, especially in relation to the activities of several cardinals, whose archives he had sifted with the most painstaking care. There are two or three other Levis who serve their country in the capacity of historians. Cesare Augusto Levi has already been mentioned as an archæologist. The Tunisian painter, Moses Levy, although born probably of British-Jewish parents, as his name would imply, is usually associated with Italian art, as is Arturo Levi, the sculptor, orginally from Trieste but now living in the United States.

Chemistry has a worthy representative in Mario Giacomo Levi of Bologna, writer of numerous papers in this branch of science (espe-

cially electro-chemistry), while, to take an entirely different phase of culture, art criticism flourishes in the hands of Levi, "L'Italico" of Ferrara.

It is my belief, too, that Livi, a name we meet with not rarely among Italian scientists, is in many cases a Latinized form of Levi.

Hyphenated Levis

As in France, there are not a few in Italy who have retained their maternal surname, although they were thereby revealing their racial origin. One of the most outstanding mathematical physicists in Italy to-day is Levi-Civita (see Chapter XIII "The Jews and Relativity"). Levi Bianchini is director of a psychopathic hospital in Abruzzi and editor of *Archivio Generale di Neurologia, Psichiatria e Psichoanalisi.* There are also David Levi-Morenos, an authority on aquiculture (fishing, etc.), Ettore Levi-Malvano, well-known man of letters, and Levi-Catellani, jurist and political philosopher, dealing in his writings mainly with constitutional law. Among the able publicists and journalists is Giacomo Levi-Minzi; and a *confrère* of his is Renzo (*i. e.* Fiorenzo) Levi-Naim, the novelist, whose father was a Levi and his mother a Naim.

The Levys in Other Countries

It is not necessary to cite the work of the Levys in other countries. The greatest Hebrew poet of all times was a Spanish Halevy; and there were others in Spain bearing that patronymic who had distinguished themselves before the unholy Inquisition began to carry out its nefarious commission.

The German Levys and Levis are comparatively few but what they lack in numbers, they more than make up in the quality of their material. Jurists like Meyer Levy, Orientalists like Moritz Abraham Levy, and musicians like Hermann Levi, Wagner's favorite conductor, are eligible to be considered geniuses. But even men like Raphael Levi, the investigator of the principles underlying logarithms, Oscar Levy, who has presented Nietzsche to the English-speaking people, and Emil Levy, compiler of the exhaustive Provençal dictionary in several volumes, can well take a place with the mighty in any culture.

Of the younger Levys and Loewys in Germany who have already made their mark, there are Ernst Levy, Professor of Roman and Civil Law first in Frankfurt and now in Freiburg; Alfred Loewy, Professor of Mathematics in Freiburg; Hermann Levy, sociologist and economist of

standing, who nevertheless writes fiction and literary essays under the pen name of Hermann Lint; and Richard Levy, chief surgeon at the Hamburg Jewish Hospital, a writer on miscellaneous medical questions and Professor at the University of Hamburg.

In Austria, two Loewys were destined to perform their best work and to receive their laurels in other countries. They are: Maurice Loewy, who left Vienna for Paris when still a young man and became afterwards the director of the Paris Observatory as well as a member of the Académie des Sciences; and Emanuel Loewy, who filled the chair of archæology at the University of Rome, but has, since the World War, returned to the University of Vienna.

It is noteworthy, and perhaps of some significance for history and eugenics, that England, which has produced distinguished members of the Abrahams, Isaacs and Jacobs families, as well as famous Samuels, should have been so backward in her Levys, not that there are wholly wanting some fine specimens of the Levite tribe in the British Empire. Relatively speaking, however, the indigenous Levys of Great Britain have not made any notable contributions to modern culture.

Even Denmark has had at least one distinguished Levy, a physician whose given name was

Moritz Marcus, and who was co-editor of the Copenhagen *Journal for Medicin og Chirurgie.*

In general, however, it is true that the French Lévis, Lévys and Halévys outclass all the other Levys, with the Italian Levis coming next in rank.

The Cohens as Compared with the Levys

It is not unlikely that after this eulogy of the Levys, the Cohens will feel slighted, and ask after the fashion of Esau: "And hast thou not reserved a blessing for me?" It would indeed be phenomenal, on the laws of probability, if the Cohens, who are more numerous than the Levys and are descended from the most privileged family in Israel, should be without a fair representation in the hall of fame. One must be decidedly partisan to ignore the achievements of the Cohens. It is, nevertheless, true that beside the Levis they exhibit a handicap which deserves some study.

Before we go any further, let us be mindful of the fact that some Cohens have changed their original priestly name. It so happens that Sir Francis T. Palgrave (compiler of the *Golden Treasury* and Professor of Poetry at Oxford University) was a Cohen; that the great critic, Georg Brandes, was born a Cohen; that the best-known Hungarian dermatologist, Moriz Kaposi,

was a Kohn, prior to his becoming established in Vienna; and the leading contemporary biographer, Emil Ludwig, as we were recently told in the press, had already in his youth dropped the sacerdotal association.

What a comfort that these luminaries had not to contend with the name of Yeitteles (Jeitteles)[1]; for in Germany there circulates a climactic epigram which runs something like this:

To be called Goldstein is pesky;
To be called Cohen is a misfortune;
But to be named Yeitteles is a catastrophe.

That four men of such magnitude should, for various reasons, perhaps too obvious to mention, relinquish their mark of lineage and assume a strange name is a sadly eloquent commentary in itself, but for our present purpose, willy-nilly, they will have to be reclaimed by the Cohens. After all, this quartet alone is something to be proud of when Cohens are matched against Levys. But we must pursue our search for a larger number of illustrious progeny of Aaron, if we are to be fair to this most universal as well as most ancient family; and by keeping our standard the same for

[1] This family, nevertheless, has at least half a dozen representatives who have made distinct contributions, particularly in the field of medicine.

the Cohens as for the Levys, we can easily select a score of famous men by that name, and perhaps another score of lesser lights, but no more. Our list would then embrace the following:

Berthold Cohen—a mathematician of a high order.

Emil Cohen (1842-1905)—a celebrated mineralogist in Germany.

Ernst Cohen—the co-worker of Van t' Hoff in Holland and a chemist of note in his own right.

Ferdinand Cohn—probably the foremost botanist of his generation.

Gustave Cohen—one of the leading authorities in the world on the theatre, and a shining light in contemporary French literature.

Georg Ludwig Cohn—a brilliant historian of law and founder, in 1873, of a journal for comparative jurisprudence.

Gustav Cohn—one of the chief figures in European political economy and political science.

Hermann Cohen—one of the profoundest philosophers Germany produced in the nineteenth century; founder of the Marburg School of Neo-Kantianism.

Hermann L. Cohn [1]—among the first to introduce experimental methods into ophthalmology.

[1] It is interesting to note that this distinguished physician, medical reformer and benevolent spirit was the father of the famed biographer, Emil Ludwig. See page 116.

Jonas Cohn—Freiburg philosopher, esthetician and psychologist, ranking high in contemporary German philosophic circles.

Lassar Cohn—an organic chemist, whose book on everyday chemistry has been translated into a dozen languages.

Leopold Cohn — distinguished classical scholar and professor at the University of Breslau.

Levi Ali Cohen (1817-1889) not only has the distinction of combining in his name both the Levi and the Cohen elements, but possesses the merit of having established the hygiene movement in Holland on a solid footing, even causing the legislation of the country to be changed in the interest of preventive medicine. He was a prolific writer and edited several medical periodicals.

A. J. P. L. De Vinkenhoef Cohen (1781-1848), hailing originally from the Netherlands and settling in France, was the author of about twenty volumes, mainly on history and literature (drama).

Henri Cohen, who at one time was director of the conservatory in Lille, but later took charge of the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

Shalom Cohen (1772-1845), although a Hebrew writer, deserves a place among the more or

less renowned Cohens because of his collections of verse, dramatic poems, translations and history of the Jews.

Léon Cohn was *chef de cabinet* in France under Jules Simon as premier.

J. E. David Cohen—a composer of distinction, who served as chorus master at the Grand Opera in Paris.

Ludwig Adolf Cohn—who, in the 37 years of his invalid life, managed to bring out several volumes and numerous articles on the history of Germany, which won the approbation of scholars throughout the world.

The celebrated Polish physician of the seventeenth century, *Tobias Cohn,* must also be mentioned not only because of his medical ministration to five successive sultans (the circumstance of the succession is no reflection on his success) but largely for his encyclopedic work *Ma'aseh Tobiah,* which contains many original observations.

We must not forget the highly gifted *da Silva Solis Cohen* brothers of Philadelphia, the older of whom, Jacob, author of several successful textbooks and a number of monographs, distinguished himself as a laryngologist, while the younger, Solomon, professor of clinical medicine and therapeutics, not only has contributed weighty

tomes to the science of medicine but has wielded his brilliant pen in the sphere of *belles lettres,* writing on miscellaneous topics. As editor of the *Philadelphia Polyclinic* (1894-1899) and one of the editors of *American Medicine,* he has been a promoting force in American medicine.

The Hungarian Kohns have produced an able economist who served his country both by suggesting reforms in taxation and grain buying and by Magyarizing his name (Pap). Also, one of the most versatile scholars in the same country is Samuel Kohn, a rabbi, who has written volume upon volume on archæology, language, literature and history, mainly dealing with the Jews.

It may seem strange to some readers that among the high dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy there should be men by the name of Kahn or Kohn, yet the former Bishop of Klagenfurt (Austria) was a Kahn, while Dr. Theodor Kohn served as Lord Archbishop of Olmütz, Moravia. There is no Levi or Levy, so far as I am aware, functioning as a prelate in the Church.

There are only three Coh(e)ns in the latest Danish *Who's Who* as compared with about a score of Levys, Levis, Levins and Levysons; and two of the Cohns are brothers, both brilliant sociologists and economists. They are Naphtali and

Georg, who has just (June, 1929) been appointed a member of the Permanent International Court of Arbitration at the Hague. Although only in his forties, he has already served in the capacity of advisor to the Danish Foreign Office and was chief of its International Law Department. It so happens that the third noted scion of Aaron in Denmark, at the present time, Einar Cohn is also an economist, and edits an important periodical in Copenhagen.

The dearth of Cohens in any of the familiar variants is noticeable in the Norwegian and the Swedish *Who's Who,* and although the Levys there are not too plentiful either, a decided preponderance of the latter over the former is discernible.

In England, outside of the Palgraves, of whom Sir Francis has already been mentioned, we must record the name of the aged Sir Frederick Cowen, probably the leading composer in the British Empire at the present time, as well as those of the painters, Lionel J. and William Cowen.

The Cohnheims and Kohnstamms may also be annexed to the Cohens. Among the former we may cite, in order to bolster up the cause of the Cohens, Julius Cohnheim, the pathologist, and Otto Cohnheim, the chemist of proteids (whose book on the subject was translated into English);

and among the latter, the late psychopathologist Oskar Kohnstamm. Nor are we disposed to ignore the historian and novellist, Cohnfeld, and the gynecologist, Cohnstein.

Not only are we willing to extend our inquiry to the Kahns, Kuhns[1] and Kohns, the Coans and Cones, Kahanes and Kagans, Cahuns, Cahens and Caens, who yield Lyon-Caen, permanent secretary of the French Institute and general editor of its proceedings, but even to the Katzes (for, as many are aware, the name Katz is simply the phonetic combination of the initials of *Kohen Tzedek* "just priest"), the Italian Coens and Sacerdoti, the English Cowens and Cowans, and finally the Kaplans (Chaplains), although in considering the Levys, we did not include the Levitts, the Levines and Levins, the Loewes and Levysons, the Siegels and Segals (*S'gan L'viah,* "Chief of the Levites"). Even if we should enlarge our list by adding the French critic, Gustave Kahn, our own, and yet not our own, Otto Kahn, and a few others, we could not swell the number so as to equal that of the Levys in France, Italy and Germany, who have risen to fame.

The notable Cohens seem to flourish especially

[1] Let us, in a charitable mood, add the names of Abraham Kuhn, the Strasbourg histologist, and Moritz Kuhn, the Vienna physicist.

in Germany and Holland, while the Levys and Halévys thrive in France.

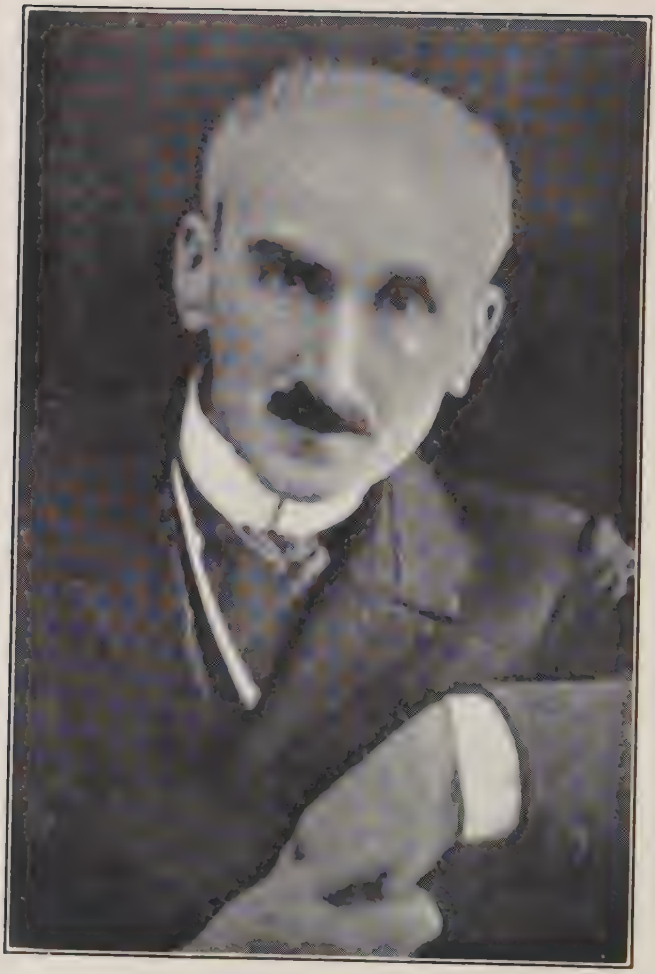
I could find only five prominent grandsons of a Cohen willing to retain presumably their maternal name in their own patronymic. They are: Cohn-Wiener, the architect and writer on fine arts, Adolf Cohen-Kysper, the naturalist, M. Cohen-Linaru, the Roumanian composer and musical critic, G. J. E. Cahen-Salvador, member of the French Ministry of Labor, and R. S. Cahn-Speyer, the Berlin musical writer and conductor. The latter's father was also a Cahn-Speyer.

The conclusion, then, which the reader might have come to by this time, *viz.*, that the Cohens are not so much attached to their family tree as are the Levys, holds pretty generally, and is an interesting phenomenon for the social psychologist to analyze.

CHAPTER VI

THE INTELLECTUAL SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE

There are three men to-day who intellectually rule, not only Europe, but the whole civilized world. Each of these sovereigns has revolutionized his whole sphere; each has become a classical figure in the history of mental progress—and together the three celebrities constitute a mighty triumvirate, whose decrees are honored by leaders of thought in every part of the globe. These three representatives of the age are Jews—Henri Bergson, Sigmund Freud and Albert Einstein. They are undoubtedly the most discussed persons in science and philosophy. Whole libraries have been written on the movements initiated by each of these lights, who symbolize their race in more than one respect, but mainly in bringing about a change in human thought. Bergson, the French Jew, whose father was born in Poland and whose mother came from England, has championed the cause of *intuition* against the strict rationalism of which his great compatriot Descartes was the



HENRI BERGSON
(1859–)

father. Freud, the Austrian Jew, advanced the claims of the *unconscious* in psychology. And Einstein, the German Jew, established the principle of *relativity* once and for all.

We need not be followers of Bergson to recognize the magnitude of his contribution to philosophy, nor must we accept all of Freud's doctrines to appreciate that, though primarily not a psychologist, he has shed a flood of light on the processes of the mind, nor is it necessary for us to comprehend the intricacies of Einstein's doctrine to realize that his genius is akin to that of Newton, Pascal and men of such caliber.

Bergson has written comparatively few works. Every book of his is the result of profound study. Before setting down his thoughts for publication he delves long and deeply. If his ore is so valuable, it is because he is a careful miner. Unlike Hegel, who would conform the facts to his theories, and was said to have declared once, on being told that a new discovery contradicted one of his explanations, "So much the worse for the facts," Bergson is at great pains to consult the conclusions of science. Herein lies the strength of the Franco-Jewish philosopher, *viz.,* that he has mastered the sciences before bringing out his philosophical system. Thus his defense of free-will rests on a profound analysis of some of the concepts which

are at the foundation of mathematics. Again, his doctrine of creative evolution is set in the framework of the biological sciences. Science to him is a propædeutic or, as the Talmudists would say, a *Prozdor Lit'raklin* (vestibule to the palace). In this way, he should not be compared with such men as Haeckel or Ostwald, who plunged into philosophy after they found themselves cramped in their respective sciences.

Whether or not Bergson represents the traditional chain of French philosophy is a mooted point, but the irony in his case is the fact that, as a pillar of the spiritual philosophy, he serves as the prop for the religious forces in France. And strange to say, the leaders of the other two great schools of philosophy in France are the two Jews, Brunschwicg and Lévy-Bruhl, the former heading the Neo-Kantians and the latter leading the sociological school founded by another great Jew, Durkheim.

The name of Freud will always be linked with the psychoanalytic movement, which has won thousands of devotees among those who are concerned with the study of man in its various aspects. Freud may be mistaken about many of his views, and I feel certain that he has overstated the case for the unconscious, but we shall all have

to agree that he is an original thinker. He often strikes me as a Roentgen of the mind, who can X-ray some of the most opaque mental recesses. True enough, the picture is often blurred and hazy, and, even more frequently, adventitious spots are interpreted as of great import to the situation, but the modern Joseph, who has given us a clue at least to the understanding of our dreams, has shown that there is method to our madness, and also perhaps that there is madness in our method. While he has on many occasions overshot the mark, in attempting to reduce all life to one principle, it must be conceded that he has succeeded in revealing to us hidden mysteries and has stimulated many of his associates and disciples to make further fruitful searches. It may be said in passing that Freud's most brilliant disciples are Jews, as will be seen in Chapter IX, which is an attempt to answer the question: "Is Psychoanalysis a Jewish Movement?" Freud was evidently brought up in an Orthodox Jewish home, and the many references in his works to Jewish customs, Jewish phrases and Jewish humor would make it appear that the tradition has continued in his household to this very day. It is a pathetic commentary on justice and fairness in our twentieth century that the most famous man in all Austria was not advanced to a full profes-

sorship until after the war, when he was over sixty years old.

Einstein, as is well-known, has also suffered in this respect, perhaps even more so than Freud, and on less pretext. It is a sign of the times that we have in Einstein the first immortal actually to identify himself with the cause of the Jews. That Einstein should have been obliged to depend for his methods on the light experiment which another Jew, Michelson, in conjunction with Morley, has carried out, and, furthermore, that one of the two or three outstanding co-workers in the field of relativity is the Jew, Minkowski, should make us alive to the fallaciousness of a widespread view that the experimental and exact sciences are more or less alien to the Jewish mind.

What we are most concerned with is, however, the question whether there is something which binds the three chiefs into a unit. Is there a general point of view which holds them together and which, moreover, distinguishes their mode of thinking as Jewish? Offhand we may reply that there is nothing to prevent eminent Jews from differing among themselves in regard to ultimate principles, just as there is nothing to prevent average Jews from holding different opinions in politics. Although countries like Germany and

England have been contrasted with each other as to mode of thinking, we take it for granted, nevertheless, that an empiricist, or even a materialist, may grow up on German soil, while England may produce an idealist of high merit. We must, therefore, not expect to find a uniformity of thinking among any people, though there is the tendency for creative men to group themselves in schools determined to some extent by the environment. The Jews, lacking as yet a national *milieu,* would naturally be at a disadvantage in this respect, but then again, if they present distinct racial characteristics, the environment alone would not be sufficient to absorb and offset the hereditary basis.

In the triumvirate under discussion, we may affirm that there is a bond among the three Jews of different nativity. Granted that Bergson and Freud are apparently poles apart, inasmuch as the former holds that we are *free to will in all our actions,* while the latter thinks that *even our dreams are determined by our wishes,* and our wishes, in their turn, are merely the expression of human nature and the results of childhood experiences as well as of our present situation; granted, further, that Bergson's philosophy is linked with a spiritual optimism while Freud's psychology reduces man to a bundle of instincts, in the process of being refined, and meet-

ing with obstacles in the shape of conflicts, which eventually lead to mental and nervous disorders of various sorts—the penalty paid to society by the individual—granted that there are differences between the author of *Creative Evolution* and the founder of psychoanalysis, it must be pointed out that the common element in both is far more significant; and bringing in Einstein again, we may underscore the fact that *all three are at one in combating absolutism.* Bergson has undermined the power of reason, subordinating it to intuition; Freud has reduced the influence of the conscious to the advantage of the unconscious (subconscious), while Einstein has demolished the absolute rule of matter, space and time.

A dynamic force unites the three most original minds of our time. Bergson's *élan vital* bespeaks a continually changing world. Freud's doctrine rests entirely on the principle that one psychical element is always changing into another, a principle which even orthodox psychologists are beginning to appreciate at its true worth, while Einstein's relativity law almost furnishes the basis of both Bergson's philosophy of change and Freud's dynamic psychology, wherein the wolves of individual desire become ill-satisfied lambs in social surroundings, and wherein a repressed wish comes out in the shape of a neurotic affliction.

Bergson is known for his artistry in writing, and Freud, as Havelock Ellis pointed out some years ago, is primarily an artist in his psychology. Let us bear in mind, too, that Einstein is not wholly engrossed in the dry formulae of higher mathematics. His musical recreations take the place of Newton's dabbling in the Scriptures and Apocalypse as a pastime. Thus, feeling finds a conspicuous place in the life and endeavors of the three Jews who are remaking the intellectual world. How much of it is due to the *Chassidic* strain which probably runs in the families of both Freud and Bergson will perhaps never be known. It will suffice, for the present, merely to suggest that each of the illustrious trio, who have enriched the world's eternal treasures, is but a link in a golden chain which, in spite of all attempts at destruction, has been shaping itself in an unbroken line since the days of the Pharaohs.

CHAPTER VII

A STATISTICAL TRIBUTE TO JEWISH EMINENCE

There is no slight distinction to be made between " subjective, and, objective " tributes.

The former is of more or less regular occurrence. Amidst the environment of hate and persecution, we have often had the occasion of listening to a word of consolation and praise. It was our lot to be hounded, and it was our privilege to be lauded to the skies. Privation and hardships were followed quite frequently by a reaction on the part of the fairer-minded intellectual class.

At present we still enjoy the privilege of furnishing the theme for many church sermons, although persecution is not so rampant as of yore.

In the last analysis, most of those sermons to which we are referring hark back to the stereotyped phrases about and illustrations of Jewish achievement in the past. It is always the same story: Moses and the Prophets; the Maccabæans, Spinoza and Heine, Beaconsfield and Crémieux, *et alii.*

But we are growing tired of these repeated encomia that are being showered upon us at irregular intervals. Those excellent gentlemen that are surfeiting us with their flattering opinions are undoubtedly doing some good in their community by helping to remove the prejudice against the Jews. It is true, nevertheless, that they are not adding an iota of knowledge with regard to our present status.

Reiterated eulogies on the basis of pristine glory cannot satisfy a people that is making rapid progress and is growing from decade to decade.

Subjective tributes have become so commonplace that we now hardly pay attention to the brief newspaper reports in which they are recorded.

Instead of listening to the repeated allusions to our "past" greatness, we should prefer to learn just how we stand in contemporaneous times. In other words, we want *facts about our present-day achievements,* and not mere compliments with reference to our ancestors.

Such facts involve research, and research is in many cases neither practical nor easy.

Hence, it is doubly gratifying when we can glean some information about Jewish genius from the account of such an eminent man as J. McKeen Cattell, who enjoys the distinction of having been

appointed to the first chair in psychology on this continent (University of Pennsylvania).[1]

It was Professor Cattell who exposed the Nomination Committee of the Century Club, some years ago, after the name of Jacques Loeb had been rejected from membership on questionable grounds. For a number of years, Professor Cattell has interested himself in statistics on great men. The article, "Families of American Men of Science," which is in part quoted here, first appeared in *Popular Science Monthly,* and was afterwards reprinted in the third edition of *American Men of Science,* 1921.

There are many things that are striking in this article. The author selected the names of over 900 men, who rank as the most distinguished scientists in the United States, with a view to tracing their early national affiliations. It is apparent that the Jews have not been recognized as a distinct nationality, but Professor Cattell is too scientific an investigator to neglect the Jews altogether in his data, and perhaps the most interesting portion of his study is that in which he mentions the part played by the Jews as scientists.

We shall first quote the two passages from *Popular Science Monthly,* where the Jews are

[1] Professor Cattell is one of the recent presidents of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

mentioned, and then proceed to the conclusions we may deduce from this interesting paper.

Says Professor Cattell:

" While it is comparatively easy to determine the nationality of scientific men and of their parents, it is almost impossible to determine their race. Indeed, a consideration of the subject leads to a realization of the complexity of the racial descent of the people forming the nations of Western Europe and America. There are 13.5 families stated to be Jews. Of 71.5 German families, 8 are Jews; of 6 Russian families, 5 are Jews; among 660.5 native American families, there is only one Jewish parent. There may be some unrecorded cases; the number of native born scientific men of Jewish family is smaller than might have been anticipated." (*Ibid.* page 783.)

The next passage is still more important, for it shows us that although there is not such a large percentage of Jews among the first thousand most distinguished scientists in America, the ratio of those that have reached the *very top* of their science is almost phenomenal.

" Among the leading hundred men of science," Cattell says further, " seven are of Jewish family. The Jewish race thus appears to show superior intellectual ability. The differences in the other nationalities and races are so small as to indicate

practical equality. The slight superiority of the Germans is due to several men who have come to this country to fill scientific positions, half of whom are of Jewish descent."

In the table the Jews are eliminated. In the legal sense of the word, the Jews are not a nationality, hence Professor Cattell's omission.

NATIONALITIES OF THE PARENTS OF AMERICAN MEN OF SCIENCE

	Both parents	Father only	Mother only	Total families
American	628	23	42	660.5
English	48	36	28	80
Scotch	9	13	15	23
Irish	4	10	12	15
Canadian	14	3	7	19
German	54	23	12	71.5
Norwegian	6	0	0	6
Danish	1	2	1	2.5
Swedish	6	0	0	6
Russian	6	0	0	6
Dutch	3	3	5	7
French	6	6	2	10
Swiss	6	4	0	8
Italian	0	1	0	0.5
Japanese	2	0	0	2
Total	793	124	124	917

What We May Learn from the Results

The paragraphs that have been reproduced here will afford us enough food for thought.

In the first place, we see that what is true of the German Jews in their native country holds also of their services in the United States. Elsewhere I have gone into some detail to show that contemporary Germany has had her reputation greatly enhanced by virtue and at the expense of her Jews. Now it appears that both Germany and Russia would be but poorly represented in American scientific circles if it were not for their Jews.

It is true that Cattell has made it fairly clear what Germany and Russia owe to the Jews who represent them in science, but the world at large does not, as a rule, take into account the Jewish factor of the case. The Jews are generally classed as Germans or Russians or what not, but certainly not as a distinct nationality.

PART II

PREFATORY NOTE: The name of Coué is now on the road to oblivion, but only six years ago his tour through the United States was marked by such an ovation in the press and other media of public expression as is accorded only to world celebrities. It was just previous to the Nancy chemist's arrival in New York that the following essay appeared in *The American Hebrew.*

The director of the American Library Service, which published all of Coué's translated works in this country at the time wrote:

> I have read with interest your illuminating article entitled "Coué's Jewish Predecessor" and I am writing to ask permission to reprint this article in a little book that we are preparing to be called "Coué in America," which will embody the reactions of the country to Émile Coué and his theories.

So far as I know, this book of reactions did not appear, and only a short time afterwards, the jovial little druggist, who was teaching the world to repeat the well-known "every day in every way" couplet, himself (once more) proved to the world—alas, how reluctantly!—that the Grim Reaper is no respecter of formulae. Émile Coué has been treated rather charitably by scientists and has made even some disciples among psychologists, but the probability is that he will be regarded by posterity as a self-deluded semi-quack who managed, nevertheless, to do a great deal of good among sufferers by virtue of his attractive personality.

CHAPTER VIII

COUÉ'S JEWISH PREDECESSOR

The phenomenal success which Émile Coué has achieved as a " wonder-man " throughout Europe and the United States brings to mind once more the weakness of the human race. We shall not deny the fact that the quondam druggist is able to effect cures. We shall also gladly concede that the now world-famous man must be the possessor of a magnetic personality to inspire thousands of believers with confidence. What then? We fail to see that his greatness is at all comparable with that of the relatively obscure Hippolyte Bernheim, former head of the Nancy School, who, undoubtedly, was the spring at whose source the genial little Frenchman drank both freely and frequently until he himself began to gush forth like a geyser on a mountain peak.

There is this difference, however, between the two men—that while Bernheim commanded the respect of his profession by virtue of his theoretical mastery of the field to which he had devoted his life, Coué, with due deference to his

fine personal qualities and his good intentions, cannot but amuse those initiated into the mysteries of mental life. And it is no insignificant circumstance that Coué became known only after the death of Bernheim.

Hippolyte Bernheim, who was born toward the middle of the last century, came into prominence, when still a young man, as an exponent of Liébeault's method of curing certain diseases by means of hypnotism. Liébeault, an unassuming Nancy physician, had drawn upon himself the opprobrium of his colleagues because of his nonconforming attitude, and, in spite of his experimental cures, was undergoing considerable hardship until the open-minded young Bernheim found himself converted to Liébeault's practice.

In 1884 there appeared Bernheim's book, *De la suggestion,* the preface to which begins with the words, "It is to M. Liébeault, doctor of medicine in Nancy, that I owe the knowledge of the method to induce sleep and gain certain incontestable results." That year, we might say, marks the beginning of the Nancy School, and thereafter Liébeault was treated with greater consideration by his *confrères,* not only of his own town, but of Paris as well.

While it is true that Bernheim had been put on the right track by Liébeault, it must not be lost

to sight that Bernheim's *theoretical* groundwork of the method employed by Liébeault was an epoch-making work.

Hypnotism as a phenomenon was known for ages, though it had passed through an evolution of stages and names. The exploits of Mesmer, not to mention those of the Hindu fakirs, need hardly be alluded to. Contemporaneously with Liébeault, Braid was advancing the practical study of hypnotism in England; and a few years later, the famous Charcot, the greatest authority of his time on nervous diseases, was making his thrilling observations on the patients at La Salpêtrière. Yet the whole field was pervaded by a heavy mist.

It was this nebula that Bernheim was determined to pierce. Setting himself up as an opponent of the mighty Charcot, he combated the doctrine that hypnotism bore even the remotest resemblance to magnetism. The next audacious move on his part was to call in question the three stages of hypnotization which Charcot and his associates at La Salpêtrière claimed to have discovered, *viz.*, lethargy, catalepsy and somnambulism.

So tremendous was Charcot's influence that few investigators dared to doubt his findings. Among his disciples were to be found Féré and Binet (the originator of the intelligence test move-

ment) and the young Jew, Freud, who, though a pupil of Charcot, was keen enough to discern the value of Bernheim's *Hypnotisme et Suggestion,* and equally prompt in bringing out a German translation of the work with a rather lengthy preface of his own. At the time, Freud was still in his twenties.

The controversy between Charcot and Bernheim came to be known as the difference between the Paris (or La Salpêtrière) and the Nancy schools. It is most interesting that Bernheim's view, which represents hypnotism as merely an exaggerated form of suggestion and in no way different, except in degree, from the phenomena of normal mental life—this view won out against the complicated, almost mystical, doctrine of Charcot. Students of psychology and psychopathology now-a-days simply take Bernheim's conclusions for granted, oblivious of the rough path that the Nancy leader had to beat down in order to make it passable. With what skepticism Bernheim's rational views were received may be seen from the comment in *La Grande Encyclopédie* to the effect that, although his researches are of the greatest interest, they need confirmation.

Recently, attempts have been made to reinstate in modified form the doctrine of Charcot with regard to the magnetic quality of hypnotism.

The late Sydney Alrutz, in Sweden, for many years contended that the hypnotic passes, on the part of the hypnotizer, did actually exert some physical power over the hypnotic subject.

Freud, too, seems never to have shaken off the influence of his celebrated teacher, Charcot, on this question; and is still inclined to side with the older view, partly perhaps because of his mystical leanings in general.

At the Eighth, Psychological Congress held in Groningen, in 1926, even a demonstration was undertaken by one of Alrutz's friends to prove the truth of this "die-hard" contention, but the investigating committee, in a signed statement, denied the validity of the interpretations, and thus Bernheim's theory was vindicated again.

But it must not be supposed that Bernheim was a mere theoretician. He had already made his *début* as a medical scientist by his work on typhus, which had appeared at the opening of his career. As a physician he must have risen to the top of his profession, or else he would not have been appointed to a professorship at Nancy. The clinical cases which he describes in his *De la suggestion* offer us some of the best material on the curative value of hypnotism or, what in Bernheim's eyes amounted to the same thing, suggestion.

Long before Coué had made himself acquainted with Bernheim's work, the Nancy clinic, thanks to the efforts of Bernheim and his colleague, Émile Lévy, whom he mentions in his writings, was widely heard of, at least throughout France, for its marvellous cures. Liébeault, it is true, was Bernheim's teacher of the art, but were it not for the illustrious pupil, neither Liébeault nor Nancy would have been anything more than mere names to students of abnormal phenomena. It is probably owing to the repeated mention of the School with which he was connected that Bernheim's name was pushed into the background.

Coué can hardly be considered a pupil of Bernheim. In fact, he denied that he had attended any of Bernheim's courses. It would be more correct to regard him as a *disciple* of the Nancy leader, There is nothing in Coué's method which may be called an elaboration of the original procedure as practiced by Bernheim, except the concrete formula (the well-known "every day in every way," etc.) which, in its English form, has given rise to considerable merriment among the more sophisticated.

Bernheim's suggestions to his patients were, to be sure, extraneous influences, but for that reason they were certain to be more effective. The defect of an idle formula becomes apparent

to us when we consider that only the most suggestible persons are susceptible to its healing potentialities. And even *they* are, in the first instance, not practicing auto-suggestion, but have submitted to outside influence, *viz.*, the authority of the originator of the formula. But the familiar story of the patient who, in his ignorance of medical procedure, swallowed the doctor's prescription and was cured of his ailment strikingly illustrates the power of faith.

Bernheim, too, had encouraged auto-suggestion as a therapeutic measure, but this was not to be based on a mere rhyme or doggerel. Rather it emanated from the treatment which the physician was administering in the particular case. The principle is essentially the same, but while Bernheim had enjoyed a scientific training and possessed a fund of information which made him an authority in his field, not to speak of his special intellectual aptitudes, Coué's fame rests on his personality traits alone, which are so influential in bringing about the suggestible attitude in the patient.

Suggestion a Form of Hypnotism

Much good as Coué's method may lead to, we must bear in mind that, as in the case of so many

wonder-men before him, his success belongs to the museum of historical curios such as the evolution of hypnotism abounds in. Coué claims that his method is not the same as hypnotism. But Bernheim, who knew infinitely more about the subject, has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that there is no qualitative difference between suggestion and hypnotism, that the latter is only an intensification of the former.

In so far as Coué's prestige can be of advantage to sufferers in bringing them fresh hopes, we must extend our most cordial greetings to the man who has broadcast Bernheim's doctrine throughout the world, but when he seeks to supplement his practical gospel by the theoretical legend that the imagination being stronger than the will in man may easily subdue it, the psychologist cannot help smiling at the *naiveté* of the new prophet, for such an utterance betrays a blissful unfamiliarity with contemporary mental science.

The Jewish Physician of Nancy

Imagination, to be sure, is a potent factor in the production of the most ecstatic state of happiness as well as of the most abject misery, but the images and ideas responsible for the mental attitude brought about must be induced by a *real*

and not a make-believe stimulus, as any kind of a formula must naturally be for even the most slightly educated person of to-day. Thus we find that our daily philosophers—the " colyumists "—have not exaggerated in their parodies and squibs the weak points of Coué's method. Coué does not seem to believe with the majority of psychologists that what we call *willing* is only the process of a vivid idea being converted into a certain action or tendency to act, while other ideas, which may have been dominant only a minute before, function so feebly that the person said to do the willing is not actually aware of them.

But we have not come to condemn Coué, the man of the hour; nor is it our purpose to praise Bernheim. It is only in justice to the latter's memory that we remind the readers of his fruitful endeavors to establish the doctrine which has been so skillfully handled by his townsman.

In order to gain an impression of the halo which surrounded Bernheim in the late nineties, it is necessary to read the account of the Nancy School by van Renterghem in the *Zeitschrift für Hypnotismus* (1896, vol. V), himself a leading physician, won over to the new psychotherapeutic method. " One must needs have seen him operate in his service in order to understand how he had attained such remarkable success.

" He is small in stature, and though an Israelite by birth, he is not typically Semitic. His eyes are blue and mild yet penetrating. He has a gentle but persuasive voice. As I was accompanying him through his service at the *hôpital civil,* during his call there, he led me from bed to bed, explaining each of the cases and giving proof of his mastery in the art of diagnosis."

In his *Le magnétisme animal* (1889), Delboeuf, one of the leading French scientists, devotes a number of pages to a vivid description of Bernheim's technique. The conversation between physician and patient is recorded *verbatim.* Sufferers too ignorant to understand what is expected of them, or too incredulous to take the instructions seriously, are put to sleep by the determined physician, and awaken to find themselves, if not entirely cured, then at least very much improved.

" Let's see. Where does it hurt you? "

" In the head."

" Your headache will disappear; it's gone, it's over! You feel no more pain."

" No."

" Are you asleep? "

" I don't think so."

" You are asleep! You'll not remember anything on awakening. You don't feel anything." (He is pricked) " When you awake you'll drink half a glass of water."

In less time than it takes to write this, Delboeuf declares, the man was sound asleep, and it was evident that the patient was no longer suffering.

From several eminent neurologists, who had enjoyed the opportunity of witnessing the memorable clinical treatments by the Nancy master, I have heard similar expressions about his prowess in the clinic. His walking down the corridor and putting the patients to sleep by the magic spell of his "*dormez, dormez, dormez*" has remained a vivid memory with many a practitioner of today, who, however, does not command his presence.

If we hear so much about Nancy and little about Bernheim, let us remember that it was he who drew the world's attention to the remarkable doings in the small town. In the expressive language of the street, we should say that it was Bernheim who "put Nancy on the map," while his own name was gradually fading from view in accordance with the well-known law of attention. There will most probably come a time when the indebtedness of alienists and students of abnormal psychology to the Jewish physician in Nancy will be recognized in full measure.

CHAPTER IX

IS PSYCHOANALYSIS A JEWISH MOVEMENT?

A great many of us have heard the witticism centering about the question whether life is worth living, the answer to which was given in some such words as these: "That depends on the liver." With regard to the Jews, many questions have been posed, asking to what extent one movement or another may be attributed to Jewish tendencies, and generally it may be said that the answer depends on the *poser*. Two things are to be taken into consideration: first, his attitude toward the particular movement or tendency; secondly, his attitude toward the Jews. Capitalism, socialism, individualism, communism, bolshevism have each in turn been mustered in the same manner. And now that psychoanalysis has been brought into line for the same test, it may be well to preface my inquiry by pointing out that I am interested only in the facts of the case, and not in the promotion of psychoanalysis or the aggrandizement of the Jews.

There is something of an historical symbol

about the origination and growth of this method, which has become a sort of philosopher's stone, turning apparently tinsel experiences into golden explanations, and furnishing the coveted key by which may be unlocked the hidden treasures of the subconscious—a method which was destined to revolutionize human thought in that it has supplied meanings to phenomena which seemed to be hopelessly obscure and incoherent.

The Genesis of a Great Movement

Several thousand years ago, we are told, Egypt was saved from a famine through the dream interpretation of Joseph, son of Jacob, and within the last half-century, another Joseph led the way to the discovery of a method of dream interpretation which also deals with the problem of conservation in the face of a famine, not local but universal, albeit of a different type of commodity—yet, if we believe Freud and his disciples, no less important than food. The economy of the libido or sex energy in man now constitutes the central issue in a whole group of related sciences; and the history of the discovery harks back to the random procedure of examining a patient on the part of Josef Breuer, an elder colleague of Sigmund Freud, in 1880.

The famous patient, who was the unwitting cause of a new era in medical psychology, happened to have been a highly intelligent woman, most probably Jewish, who at first, in spite of her whole-hearted co-operation with her physicians, could not remember many particulars about her past life. After repeated and insistent questioning by Breuer, however, she was able to relate a mass of details; and the unburdening herself of certain incidents relating to her hysterical condition was said to have effected her cure.

Although, as Havelock Ellis points out in *The Bookman* of September, 1917, "Breuer guided him [Freud] to an insight which he [Breuer] never gained," the master, whose seventieth anniversary has just been celebrated, while still regarding himself as the creator of the movement, never fails to recognize that he owes his method to Breuer.

"In 1909," writes Freud, toward the beginning of his memoir, *On the History of the Psychoanalytic Movement* (afterwards reprinted in his *Collected Papers,* volume I), "in the lecture hall of the American University, [He is referring here to Clark University,] I had my first opportunity of speaking in public about psychoanalysis; the occasion was a momentous one for my work, and, moved by this thought, I then

declared that it was not I who had brought psychoanalysis into existence. The credit for this was due to another, to Josef Breuer. . . ." The latter, who was also an Austrian Jew (his recent death was scarcely noticed in the Anglo-Jewish press), collaborated with Freud and brought out conjointly a series of studies on hysteria which bear the impress of the senior writer rather than of the youthful Freud. But it is true that Freud was the moving force in inducing Breuer to continue this method after years of indifference. Whether Breuer or Freud is accorded the recognition of inaugurating the psychoanalytic method, there can be no doubt that the latter was its founder, converting the germ cell into a giant structure.

Before we proceed any further, it seems necessary to explain briefly, for the benefit of those who are not conversant with this new branch of science, the significance of the term. The whole doctrine rests on the assumption that there is more in the subconscious than we ordinarily suppose, that all our mental ills and troubles are due to some repression of an idea or memory which is displaced on account of the repression and, in this precarious condition, is transformed into a symptom, whether mental or physical. Let the displaced content bob up and the disorder is removed.

The method then essentially consists in ferreting out the repressed complexes, and overcoming the patient's stubborn resistance, which is at the root of the symptom. Hence the questioning as to dreams, associations, memories of childhood days, etc., represents a mental X-ray apparatus which serves to disclose the most concealed recesses of our mind.

But psychoanalysis does not apply merely to the treatment of ailments. It purports to explain the origin of wit and myths, to interpret dreams, to account for artistic impulses and even religious tendencies. In fact, it undertakes to examine most minutely the whole fabric of modern civilization, by means of its powerful and penetrating searchlight, and to reduce all social phenomena to one common denominator, *viz.,* the love urge, in its numerous transformations and disguises. The recent developments in the psychoanalytic schools require the latter statement to be modified, yet at the bottom there is still the sex issue which unites all the psychoanalytic divisions; and certainly the latter qualifications are not so clear nor do they hang together, in a system, so well as the original utterances of Freud and his not yet recalcitrant disciples.

Sigmund Freud was born in Freiberg, Moravia, on May 6, 1856. His father, Jacob, was a

SIGMUND FREUD
(1856–)
From a group picture taken at Clark University in 1909.

merchant. The maiden name of his mother was Amalia Nathanson. Upon graduation in medicine at the University of Vienna, he became a demonstrator at the Physiological Institute in Vienna, and a little later he was appointed physician at the Vienna General Hospital. In 1885, he left for Paris to study under Charcot, after being appointed to an instructorship at the Vienna University. It was only in 1892 that he was granted an assistant professorship.

It is quite in keeping with the policy of that university, whose Jewish professors on the medical faculty have attracted students from all parts of the globe, not even to send an official word of greeting to the famous Freud on his seventieth birthday, although felicitations have poured in to him from the most remote corners of the world.

His early writings were on aphasia, infantile paralysis and hysteria (the last in collaboration with Josef Breuer). All these works brought him little recognition. It was only after the publication of his trilogy, *The Interpretation of Dreams, Wit and Its Relation to the Unconscious* and *The Psychopathology of Everyday life*, that he achieved fame. At present there are translations not only of these but also of his less important monographs and articles. In fact, practically all his writings may be had in English.

Though bringing fame to the University of Vienna in an unprecedented degree, his racial affiliations barred his way to the full professoriate. His steadily increasing practice and his enormous responsibilities as head of the psychoanalytic movement were also undermining his academic activities.

To add to his enormous burden, a malignant growth in the mouth (upper jaw?), with which he had become afflicted, necessitated his refraining from talking more than half an hour a day. A recent operation proved successful, at least for the time being, but his very active mental labors had to be somewhat curtailed. Yet he still serves as the factual head of a vast organization reaching out from Vienna to India, Australia, America and Africa.

Freud's influence in the intellectual world cannot be overestimated. Himself not a psychologist, he has supplied the science of psychology with an explanatory system which, although far too embracing, is nevertheless indispensable in its less pretentious form.

There are few people who can lay claim to originality. Among contemporary celebrities, Freud is one of those few. Even those of his brilliant disciples who are impugning his special theories do not make any attempt to belittle his

intellectual vigor. No scientific doctrine has ever made so many converts among all classes. Even the Roman Catholic Church has to reckon with the writings of this Viennese Jew, who is now in his seventy-fourth year. In this country, Dr. Moore, professor at the Catholic University and in charge of the psychopathic patients at Providence Hospital in Washington, has given a lengthy exposition of psychoanalysis in his *Dynamic Psychology*.

If Dr. Moore's book bears the *imprimatur* of a cardinal and an archbishop, Liertz's books on psychoanalysis, in German, have on them the *imprimatur* of one no less than the Pope himself, who must, therefore, have acquainted himself with Freud's teachings. Dr. Jelliffe, to whom I am indebted for this last bit of information, writes that Liertz has lectured on psychoanalysis, for some years, by invitation of the Church, to a number of Catholic priests, chiefly at Köln (Cologne).

Freud, Chassid (or Humanist)

The distinctive feature of Freud's writings is not, as with several other psychologists, their logical development. Forceful utterances, compelling statements are beyond his reach. Yet he rivets your attention and fascinates by his sug-

gestive ideas and stimulating illustrations. Freud's attitude is that of the dreamer who is struck by an idea which subsequently develops into a grand vision. Had Israel Zangwill lived to expand his *Dreamers of the Ghetto,* the portrayal of Freud could not but find a place in it. Serene and contemplative, yet bursting with ardor, Freud may be pictured as continually drifting about in search of a haven.

I am not sure that Freud was reared in a Chassidic atmosphere or that much of the Chassidic lore so prevalent in Austrian Jewry permeated his psychological system. But we are entirely on safe ground in regarding Freud as the *Chassid* in the history of modern psychology, *Chassid* in its etymological sense (from *Chessed*—kindness or mercy). Not only is he affiliated with *Chassidism* by virtue of his humanitarian interests, but the very catholicity of his views, as well as the mystic halo surrounding his doctrines, gives his outlook on life a peculiar coloring, which brings it into line with *Chassidism* in its philosophical and historical aspects. Hence it is, too, that Freud has succeeded in creating disciples instead of merely training pupils, as most of the other psychologists have done.

Personal vs. Mechanical Methods

Up to the advent of Freud, the treatment of psychopathic and hysterical patients was being carried on by more or less mechanical means, in the sense that the *rapport* between physician and patient was not an intimate one. The great Charcot looked upon the abnormal with a certain measure of contempt, if not disgust. Even Bernheim, his rival, who was probably Coué's source of inspiration at Nancy, exercised his dominating authority over the patient when he would fulminate his hypnotic suggestions like a Jupiter of old. Then came Freud with his artistic insight and changed the scene. The patient was no longer to be handled, commanded or ordered; he was to be *understood* first of all. A bond of confidence was to be established between physician and sufferer, so as to pave the way for the transference which must precede the cure. In a word, the impersonal attitude gave way to the personal.

In many respects, Freud's method, especially in its exaggerated phase, is strongly reminiscent of the *symbolism* which underlies the Cabbalistic philosophy. The stress laid on the male and female elements, the juggling of numbers, the exploitation of all sorts of symbols to suit a particular conjecture, and many other such indications, have their counterpart in psychoanalysis.

Let us take one instance, which I am quoting in part from my article, "Freudian Psychology and Jewish Commentators of the Bible," to show how Freud and one of the most remarkable Jewish commentators meet on the same ground. A pivotal point in Freud's system is that of determinism.

"In the language of Freud, 'It is impossible to think of a number, or even of a name, of one's own free will. If one investigates this seeming voluntary formation, let us say, of a number of many digits, in unrestrained mirth, it always proves to be so strictly determined that the determination seems impossible.' Let it not be thought that Freud is merely reminding us of the laws of association in psychology. As a matter of fact, he is going far beyond them, for if you are asked to utter a number at random, and you respond with, say, 37826, Freud would hold that there is a hidden motive, hidden even from yourself, which determined you to give that number instead of any other.

"Determinism seems to be the theoretical basis of the commentaries on the Bible along symbolic and mystic lines. It has long been a puzzle to me upon what ground there has come to be established a fourfold interpretation of the Scriptures, known as the Pa R De S (Pshat, Remez,

Drush, Sod), covering the literal, the symbolic, the rhetorical, and the mystic meanings. It seems as if the literal, or perhaps better, the factual, were sufficient; but the assumption on the part of these commentators is that if it were for the factual meaning alone, the arrangement of the words in the text might have been changed, or different words might have been used to convey the same meaning, or there might have been some deviations in the grammatical form (*e. g.,* the substitution of the singular for the plural).

"In other words, a certain significance is attached to the relative position of the letter in a word, or to a word in the verse. Thus the final letters of the first three words in the Bible rearranged constitute the word *Emeth* (truth), which gives rise to the inference that the world was created through the medium of truth. But it may be asked of the Ba'al ha-Turim: how else could the thought have been stated without committing us to such an inference? The reply would then probably be to the effect that some other words might have been employed instead of *Bereshith,* such as *Barishonah* (as Rashi suggests), or possibly one of the divine names might have been the initial word instead of *Bereshith;* and since these alternatives were not resorted to, we are to conclude that there was a definite pur-

pose in employing the words, the forms, and the order actually employed, disclosing to what extent truth figured in the creation of the world. The fact that the Bible is begun with a *Beth* and not with an *Aleph*, the first letter of the alphabet, elicits from the fertile-minded Rabbi Jacob ben Asher a set of new disclosures; while the thousands upon thousands of arithmetical equations (*gematria*), anagrams, acrostics and expansions (*notzrikon*) that he and others of his school were able to eke out of the Scriptures and manipulate to suit their exegetical purposes, reveal them, particularly Rabbi Jacob, as geniuses in apperception and calculation of a certain type.

"Freud and his collaborators do not employ such an elaborate system of mathematical symbolism as the Cabbalists, who have developed scores of codes that have nothing to warrant their use outside of analogy, and very thin analogy at that. In fact, Freudians do not cling to any fixed set of rules in their number-games, but the possibilities their manipulations display surpass anything the Jewish mystic commentators could have offered.

"It must be said that Freud himself did not err so much in that respect as some of his disciples, fellow-Jews largely, who may have had this excessive number-delving ingrained in them from

their very youth. *We have no right to assume that Jewish commentators and interpreters in general are more susceptible to this foible than are Gentiles, but the fact that the former have laid such undue emphasis on this mode of interpretation is certainly significant from the point of view of race psychology.*

"It must be taken for granted, for technical reasons, that my readers are acquainted with the principles of *gematria, notarikon* and the various manipulations of the alphabet such as *At-Bash, Ik-B'khar, etc.*

"The equational inferences of the *Ba'al ha-Turim, e. g.,* the one in which the word '*L'Nekhdi,*' which means 'to my progeny,' is translated more specifically into בן בני (my grandson), because the numerical value of לנכדי (114) is the same as of the two words בן בני, or the supposed allusion to Haman in the words מחה אמחה (I will obliterate), deduced on the same ground, *viz.,* the equal numerical values attaching to the letters of the words זה המן (107), and 'Mokhoh Emkheh'—these interpretations will strike the scientific mind as inferences built upon a pretty tenuous basis. If one, however, takes the trouble to follow up the investigations by some of the psychoanalysts in the *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse,* founded by Freud, it would have to be

admitted that the manipulation of the numbers by the Jewish commentators is common sense as compared with the extravagant conjectures of professional men who are so blinded by their hasty conclusions that they cannot feel the palpable absurdity of their speculations."

References to Jews in Freud's Works

That Freud does not suffer from a racial inferiority complex is evident from the fact that he is not overcautious in mentioning or implying his Jewish affiliations. In his *Interpretation of Dreams,* he, in a matter-of-fact way, explains a dream of his on the basis of his unconscious wish to receive advancement in the University of Vienna, which, however, he knew from the experiences of his Jewish colleagues, who were older and equally meritorious, was not to be fulfilled. In his *Psychopathology of Everyday Life,* he has occasion to allude to several Jewish customs, and in one place he tells of the association of "hammer" as being due to the fact that he was reproaching himself for being a "khámer," the Yiddish form of the Hebrew equivalent for "ass." His acquaintance with Jewish jokes is well manifested in *Wit and Its Relation to the Unconscious,* where he ventures the opinion that

there is scarcely to be found a people which makes merry so unrestrainedly over its own shortcomings as the Jews.

Freud, then, if I may indulge in a bit of pleasantry, does not belong exclusively to the class of Jewish " descent " celebrities. He is of Jewish " ascent " as well; and this identification with a people whose lot he claims to have shared has not been without its effect on the course of psychoanalysis. To be sure, Freud's universal fame has not suffered, but in many quarters his teachings have been sneered at as savoring of Jewish sensuality.

Delicate Intimations of Race Hostility

The reader with a fine critical sense will not fail to pick out certain passages in Freud's *On the History of the Psychoanalytic Movement* for deep reflection, and if he happens to be a Jew, he will undoubtedly read between the lines and discover in this human document, depicting the rise of a movement amidst personal struggles and factional conflicts, a trace of his people's tragedy. Perhaps the High Priest of psychoanalysis was too exacting in his relations with his disciples, perhaps he was too sensitive in his attitude toward his opponents, but the fact remains that he

discerned something in the criticism directed against him which touched him to the quick.

When Janet, his famous Paris rival, attempts "to explain psychoanalysis as a product of the peculiar character of Vienna as a city," Freud discloses his lurking suspicion which, expressed in a veiled manner, only serves to enhance the dramatic force of the utterance. . . . "This theory about psychoanalysis," writes Freud, "always seems to me quite exceptionally stupid, so stupid in fact that I have sometimes been inclined to suppose that the reproach of being a citizen of Vienna is only a euphemistic substitute for another reproach which no one would care to put forward openly." Since this was written before the World War, it is not necessary to add a commentary on Freud's words.

Another glimpse of what was taking place behind the scenes may be gained from Freud's account of how the presidency of the psychoanalytic movement was made over to Jung who, as is known, later established his own school of psychoanalysis quite independently of the principles laid down by the orthodox group. ". . . In favor of Jung were his exceptional talents, the contributions he had already made to psychoanalysis, his independent position and the impression of energy and assurance which his person-

ality conveyed. In addition to this, he seemed ready to enter into a friendly relationship with me, and for my sake to give up certain prejudices in regard to race which he had previously permitted himself." (*Collected Papers,* vol. I, page 331.)

The Jewish Issue Openly Raised

Jewish scientists or artists often deceive themselves by supposing that their theories or productions are never questioned in the light of the racial origin of their author. Naturally, when the descent of the originator is not well-known, the issue can hardly be brought up, but as soon as the identification is complete and avowed, the notable finds himself the storm-center of discussion, with the racial eddy as a conspicuous driving force. Often the references are veiled in a symbolism which in itself brings to mind the fundamental thesis of psychoanalysis, a symbolism which singles out some characteristic generally associated with the race. By certain rhetorical devices such as metonymy or synecdoche, it is possible to say one thing and mean something different.

In the present instance, however, the question has been broached quite overtly, and some writers

on Freud's doctrines did not hesitate to pronounce psychoanalysis a Jewish inspiration determined by the racial antecedents of its originator. I believe myself that there is a great deal of truth in this conclusion, but not for the preposterous reasons that are advanced now and then by theorists who are not *au courant* with the facts.

As an example of this sort of generalization, let me cite F. C. Sumner's doctoral dissertation " Psychoanalysis of Freud and Adler (*Pedagogical Seminary,* 1922, vol. XXIX) which is a curious attempt to contrast the master and his brilliant pupil on the basis of their belonging to different races. Freud is supposed to possess a considerable feminine element in his make-up, while Adler is claimed to exhibit nothing but the aggressive masculine tendency, which vents itself in a rugged style and harsh outlook. " Sigmund Freud," says this author, " has given us no factual history of his life save in a few personal references. These latter relate to his Jewish extraction, his pacifistic tendencies in counterdistinction to the Teutonic aggressivity in the late World War, and his extreme sexual-mindedness, as evidenced throughout his theory of the neuroses, and which strikingly countenances the strong sexuality attributed racially to the Jewish male." (Page 157.)

By way of antithesis, this writer apparently

makes out Adler's forebears to be the worshippers of Wotan and Thor, when he glibly explains that "Adler, endowed by heredity with pronounced strains of Teutonic virility, could not by nature bear subordination to the feminism of Freud."

Naturally we must be amused at such a blunder, which should have been rectified by Sumner's examiners, who were also the editors of the periodical in which the article appeared; and Ernest Jones, the chief disciple of Freud in England, in fact, in all English-speaking countries, after taking the young doctor to task for the inadequacy of his work, regards the latter quotation as "perhaps the most priceless remark" in the dissertation. "What boots it," ironically queries this close friend of the contrasted victims, "that Adler is as Jewish as Freud? For the purpose of this theory he must be a Teuton." (*International Journal of Psycho-Analysis,* Jan.-April 1923, vol. IV.)

If we can afford to disregard the view of a scientific upstart on this question, it is not so easy for us to brush aside the remarkable concession by two of the most distinguished men in the psychological world: Carl G. Jung, who erstwhile was commander-in-chief of all the psychoanalytic forces, and William McDougall, the

successor of William James and Hugo Münsterberg at Harvard. In the case of Jung, who seems to be better satisfied with being a first Jung than a second Freud, we must remember the latter's utterance about the brilliant Swiss's race prejudice. Jung's concession strikes us like Esau's kiss, as interpreted by that master of exegesis, Rashi, who seemed to be bothered by the massoretic dots above the Hebrew word *Va'yishokehu,* and came to the conclusion that the dots were symbols of teeth marks.

Since McDougall is inclined to subscribe to Jung's disposition of his teacher's analytical system, we may profitably turn to McDougall's *Is America Safe for Democracy?* where we shall come across the following astounding passage, a passage which should act as a bombshell in the slumbering ranks of our "Mosaic" assimilationists. "One of Jung's arguments," declares McDougall, in these Lowell lectures, "weighs with me a good deal in favor of his view. He points out that the famous theory of Freud, which he himself at one time accepted, is a theory of the development and working of the mind which was evolved by a Jew who has studied chiefly Jewish patients; and it seems to appeal very strongly to Jews; many, perhaps the majority, of those physicians who accept it as a new gospel, a new revela-

tion, are Jews. It looks as though this theory, which to me and to most men of my sort seems so strange, bizarre and fantastic, may be approximately true of the Jewish race." (*Is America Safe for Democracy?* Page 127.)

The Jews frequently have been charged with making a deliberate attempt to ascribe a racial characteristic to the achievements of their geniuses. But Jung's theory of archetypes, which endows every individual with certain modes of thought and behavior, typifying in an unconscious manner the racial group to which the individual belongs, surely justifies us in looking for the Jewish element in every noteworthy representative of the Jewish people; and the fact that the doctrine has found favor in McDougall's eyes only enhances its importance. It matters little that there is a disparaging note in the specific application of the hypothesis to Freud's teaching and, indeed, to the Jews in general.

What though the concession sounds like that of the woman who, in arguing with her friend about their respective looks, said, " Oh, I have no doubt that in certain countries you might be considered good-looking "—the significant point is the agreement with regard to the general proposition that race tendencies are discoverable in individuals; and we are told by McDougall that

Jung "claims even that sometimes a single rich dream has enabled him to discover the fact, say, of Jewish or Mediterranean blood in a patient who shows none of the outward physical marks of such descent."

Certainly the circumstance that Jung's "Analytical Psychology," as he calls it, has found very few followers among the Jews (aside from Beatrice Hinkle,[1] his leading disciple in this country, perhaps two or three young *poets* in New York have accepted the mystical exposition of Jung) would tend to corroborate his grievance. Just what divides Jung and Freud, I shall try to establish toward the end of this essay. Meanwhile, suffice it to say that the facts in the case are correct, *viz.,* Jewish patients and Jewish practitioners play a predominant part in psychoanalysis. A mere cursory glance at the various psychoanalytic journals will be enough to convince us that the Jewish antecedents of the patient are regarded not only as worthy of mention, but of paramount importance in tracing the genesis of the disorder. Indeed, I should venture to state that the particulars contained in the hundreds of psychoanalytic articles regarding Jewish idiosyncrasies and pecu-

[1] I am inclined to think that Jung's personality and doctrines are apt to appeal to the feminine type of mind particularly.

liarities are of inestimable value both as literature and psychology; and it would not be presumptuous to predict that these studies will be greatly prized by the future Jewish historian, who will seek to reconstruct our age in the light of these intimate details. About one hundred pages in Frink's *Morbid Fears and Compulsions* are devoted to the analysis of a case, which, though bringing no credit to the Jewish name, reads like a gripping novelette, where Yiddish proverbs and phrases, Jewish superstitions and lore are introduced copiously by the heroine, Stella, a lower East Side girl in New York.

One of the most sordid revelations in this connection is the unaccountable distress which these unfortunates betray at being born of Jewish parents. It has been a firm conviction of mine that the Teutonic (German and Austrian) Jews, with all their intellectual qualities, have a greater racial inferiority complex[1] than the Jews of other countries, hence their senseless and fruitless conversions.

A confirmation of my estimate of the Teutonic Jews in this regard I found, much to my surprise, in Wittels' biography of Freud, where he tells of the young Sigmund going to England to visit his half-brother.

[1] See my article: "Have the Jews an Inferiority Complex?" *B'nai B'rith Magazine,* Sept., 1925.

"In Austria," Wittels writes, "he had never been able to escape the sense of inferiority which early affected him, as it does all Jews in German-speaking lands, and especially those who move in intellectual circles. In England, Freud renewed acquaintance with members of his family who had escaped this danger." (*Sigmund Freud,* page 21.)

Before this book of Wittels' was accessible to me, I had assumed that Freud, because of his frequent allusions to the Jews in his writings, was free from this complex. But, of course, all countries possess their share of racially inferior Jews; and it may not be amiss, while on the subject, to set down as another thesis, which I should be willing to defend, that the racial inferiority complex is only a diversion from the feeling of personal inadequacy which the neurotic suffers from. Such a one will often complain that, were it not for his Jewish birth, he would have achieved wonders. Alas, he does not realize that were he a strong character, or rather a well-integrated personality, the circumstance of his birth would have derived its significance from his worth, and not *vice versa.*

We must not, however, dwell on this phase of the question, which is only a digression. It is time that we examine further the declaration that the majority of prominent psychoanalysts are Jews.

Certainly it cannot be represented as a fortuitous occurrence that all of Freud's most brilliant disciples who have made original contributions to psychoanalysis are Jews, with the exception of Jung. Among these stand out most conspicuously Alfred Adler and Wilhelm Stekel, both voluminous writers and acute observers of human nature, who, together with Max Kahane and Rudolf Reitler, formed the first circle which Freud had in 1903. Both have broken with their masters when their adventurous spirit, in quest of further exploration, could not bear to be restricted to the principles set down by the satrap of the movement. Adler, who is more of a scientist than Stekel, was able to gather around him a group of physicians, and thus spread his well-known doctrine of organ inferiority, making it a fundamental of his system of Individual Psychology. The poetic Stekel, who has not been able to found a school, until very recently at any rate, largely because he is an interpreter rather than an originator, is quite content to carry on his work almost single-handedly, through the medium of his numerous books, most of which have been translated into English. Stekel's chief disciple is Fritz Wittels, a brilliant Austro-Jewish writer.

In addition to these revolutionaries, we must not forget to enumerate those of Freud's disciples,

who, while remaining loyal to his basic teachings, have given it considerable impetus by amplifying it in new directions. Again, we note that, with the exception of Jones, in England, who is, after all, less of an independent investigator than an able exponent and effective crusader, Freud's most capable followers who have remained loyal to his program are nearly all Jews—and even Jones has married a Jewess, the sister of the well-known psychoanalyst, Hanns Sachs. In England, Freud dominates the circles of medical psychology, and the *British Journal of Medical Psychology* reads as though it might have been conducted by Freud himself; but few of its contributors are orthodox Freudians.

In most other countries, the Jews are at the helm of affairs in psychoanalysis. In Germany, Karl Abraham, who died a short time ago, when not quite fifty, was a veritable thinker, who applied psychoanalysis to mythology and wrote several incisive monographs. Abraham was president of the International Psychoanalytic Association at the time he died, and was succeeded in this office by Max Eitingon. Next to him, in importance is Hanns Sachs, co-editor of *Imago,* a psychoanalytic periodical of a cultural character. Ernst Simmel, who, I fancy, is a close relative of the late renowned Berlin philosopher, Georg Simmel, and

F. Alexander are equally active in supporting the Austrian fortress. We may also reckon the brilliant psychiatrists, Paul Schilder and S. Bernfeld (who, I hear, is a son of the Hebrew historian, Dr. Simon Bernfeld), Melanie Klein, Löwenstein, Barbara Low in England, Van d. Chijs in Holland, and Ernst Blum in Switzerland.

Sandor Ferenczi, in Budapest, is a favorite with Freud, who intrusted him with the editing of the chief psychoanalytic periodical, and appointed him his representative in Hungary. Ferenczi is a former president of the International Psychoanalytic Association. In the United States, Brill became the chief expositor of psychoanalysis and was the first president of the American Psychoanalytic Association. Coriat is another leading practitioner employing the psychoanalytic method with considerable success.

Freud's first lieutenant, up to very lately, was Otto Rank, co-editor of *Imago,* to whom he had delegated his powers of psychoanalyzing prominent pilgrims that wished to learn the technique; and in order to make it easier for American practitioners to become personally initiated into the Freudian rites, Rank visited this country three years ago, when many physicians engaged his services for months. At the time, I wrote, "It remains to be seen whether he, too, will not fol-

low the example of Freud's former satellites and branch out on a new line, and sooner than I anticipated, the suspicion came true, for no longer does Rank enjoy the paternal protection of his master, in Vienna, but is residing at present in Paris. It is Rank's theory that, at birth, every person undergoes a psychic shock (trauma) which produces a lasting effect throughout life.

One is led to believe, on more than general principles, that Freud's accomplished daughter, Anna, will carry on a large part of her father's executive work, even if it is highly improbable that his scientific mantle will fall on her shoulders.

On the theoretical side, Sadger, Federn, Storfer and Reik[1] are frequent contributors to the literature of the movement. Wittels, one of Austria's younger *littérateurs,* even though he no longer belongs to the orthodox camp, has been identified with psychoanalysis for some years, and is the author of a biographical work on Freud (translated into English and French), which, strange to say, has received the thanks, but not the approval, of the biographee, whose feelings were apparently not spared.

[1] Reik has attempted, in various papers, to psychoanalyze the rites and customs of the Jews. One of his latest contributions to the subject is an extensive article on the psychoanalysis of Jewish, really Yiddish, jokes (*Imago,* 1929, volume X).

In Russia,[1] several of the leading psychoanalysts are Jews, such as Luria and Wulff; in Poland, Jekels has been prominently connected with the movement, while, in Italy, we find the psychiatrist, Levi-Bianchini, sponsoring Freudianism.

Psychoanalysis in Palestine

The peculiar position of psychoanalysis in Palestine is worth describing in brief. In 1922, a small circle of psychoanalytic devotees was formed through the offices of Dr. Eder of London, and included amongst its members Dr. Bergmann, Director of the Hebrew University Library, and Dr. Aryeh Feigenbaum, head of the Eye Department of the Rothschild Hospital. Lectures were given by Dr. Dorian Feigenbaum on various topics dealing with Freudianism, but it was not long before the conservative element succeeded in inducing the Hospital Committee of the Mental Hospital, of which Dr. Feigenbaum was medical superintendent, to prohibit these lectures. The report in the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* for 1924 (from which I glean my in-

[1] Tatiana Rosenthal, who died in her thirties, was being looked upon as a promising writer and practitioner in that country.

formation) concludes with this significant statement: "A point to be specially noted is this, that in Palestine there are many positive difficulties for the psychoanalyst to contend against. On the other hand, in certain quarters (especially amongst the young immigrants), there is a tendency to introduce so-called psychoanalysis far too carelessly and in a 'fashionable' and vulgarized form. This, quite obviously, is doing harm, and it is most necessary that psychoanalysts should interfere in the direction of correct exposition and above all in *checking* this injurious growth.

"Although psychoanalysis has made its first humble beginnings in Jerusalem . . . its outlook there for the future is still not very hopeful."

Some Gentiles in Movement Too

It must not be supposed that Freud has no ardent followers among non-Jews. In this country alone, the late Stanley Hall, President of Clark University, the late Professor Putnam, of the Harvard Medical School, and such noted neurologists as Jelliffe and White have identified themselves with the Freudian system; and what has struck me as particularly surprising was the admission, in response to my casual query, on the part of Dr. T. V. Moore, a Benedictine monk and Pro-

fessor of Psychology at the Catholic University in Washington, that in his capacity as director of the Clinic for Mental and Nervous Diseases of the Providence Hospital in Washington, D. C., he frequently made use of much that was fundamental in Freud's psychology. Nor should we forget that Switzerland's foremost psychiatrist, Eugen Bleuler, while never strictly a Freudian, has done much to further the interests of psychoanalysis by sponsoring some of the basic tenets of the system and elaborating on a few of the concepts so that they could be readily applied to institutional cases.

Freud has received more homage from his non-Jewish disciples than from his Jewish retinue. Thus, while Adler is reported to have once exclaimed to the master, "Do you think it is much pleasure for me to stand all my life long in your shadow?" (Freud: *Collected Papers,* volume I, page 338), the Swiss pastor, Pfister, who is the author of several works on psychoanalysis, mentions Freud as "the great founder of psychoanalysis, whose name I can only utter with profound admiration and reverence" (*Psychoanalysis in the Service of Education*). Jones, too, exhibits a marked admiration for Freud in many of his articles, which are, for the most part, erudite and lucid commentaries of the famous Vien-

nese, showing perhaps a greater knowledge of all his turns and twists than is to be found in the writings of any other Freudian. It is true, however, that with very few exceptions, the most outstanding figures in psychoanalysis are Jews.

The Secret Divulged: East and West

Now the question arises why Freud attracts so many of his race to his doctrines, especially in view of the fact that Jung does not make any proselytes among the Jews; and here we come to the crux of the whole problem.

In the first place, it must be remembered that the issue between psychoanalysis, on the one hand, and the traditional forms of psychology and psychiatry, on the other, is one between the *natural and cultural* trends in the interpretation and conception of life. In my paper on the " Psychology of Yiddish Proverbs," I pointed out that the Greeks were always interested in the *logical,* matter-of-fact view of things. They were keen on definitions, laid the foundation of modern science and evolved a theory of knowledge. The Jews, on the other hand, were racially inclined to trace the *origin of their experiences,* to analyze, introspect and discover the manner in which they were affected by them. The psychological element

was strong in all Jewish philosophers, and remarkably so in Spinoza, in spite of his mathematical method which would convert emotions into lines and angles, as it were.

If there is any concept which characterizes the Jewish bent of mind, it is that of *Purpose*. The Jew, from biblical times on, always asked himself, *"Why?" "Whither?"* This was the purport of the whole prophetic movement. The Greeks asked *"What?" "How?"* In this difference we have the *kernel of the two great world conceptions*.

The science of mind and the science of mental and nervous disorders were both reared on a naturalistic basis. Psychology, under the influence of Wundt, strove to become an exact science; it still is regarded as a natural science—achieving a great triumph, when it was recognized as an experimental discipline, and given a place in the laboratory. Psychiatry, the science of mental and nervous diseases, deriving its material from both the mental and the medical sciences, also set itself the task of approximating the physical sciences, where results are rigorously obtained through the operation of immutable laws. The mind had to be converted into nerve processes for this purpose; for mental facts, like ideas or feelings, come and go—are never permanent.

Then entered Freud and reversed the process. Laws operate, to be sure, but not in that literal way we all thought. There are meanings to each mental fact, and rather than connect the experience with a nerve process about which we know next to nothing, we might serve a more useful purpose in trying to discover the meaning of that experience in the light of antecedent happenings. He has, thus, sought by analysis to disclose the world of purposes, which the physical sciences could never, from the very nature of the case, discern, any more than the color red can be distinguished in a totally dark room. Of course it would be absurd to ask for a purpose in the law of gravitation or to say that the stone falls to the ground because it desires a resting-place.

But a stone is a stone and a man is a man, with desires and wishes which, although they may be likened to magnetic or other physical forces, are vastly more complicated in their working, and that which seems is not as it seems. The changes of a physical object can be *perceived and measured;* those of a human being must be *interpreted and understood* through a system of symbolism which is the microscope of the mind.

I do not wish to give the impression that Freud was original in every notion on which psychoanalysis is based. On the contrary, Herbart, the

German philosopher, had long ago introduced a program of mental mechanics which made use of such terms as "complex," and concepts like repression. The philosophy of the unconscious was adumbrated by Leibniz, and dwelt on by Schopenhauer, and more particularly elaborated by Hartmann. Freud himself acknowledges his indebtedness to Breuer, Charcot and Chrobak for sug gestions leading to the discovery of the method. Furthermore, his compatriots and fellow-Jews, Wilhelm Fliess and Otto Weininger, quite independently of each other, developed a theory of the bi-sexuality of man in a true psychoanalytic vein, some time before Freud had established his own system. Janet, too, is quite correct in claiming a certain priority over Freud in tracing nervous and mental disturbances to psychological factors. As for the rôle of conflict in our everyday life, I have already had occasion to quote, in my *Psychology of Character* (pages 500-503), nearly a whole chapter from Maimonides' *Eight Chapters* (in Ethics), showing how much insight the great Jewish Mediæval had in the inner struggles of mortal man to gratify the animal in him and yet approximate the Divine. We shall have to take it for granted that Freud did not evolve his universal system single-handedly. At the same time, it is true that, without him, the

various ideas and theories bearing on the welfare of *homo sapiens* would have remained disconnected and only of slight service.

Freud was the man who brought the disjointed parts together and animated them into a living structure. Herbart's interpretation of the working of the mind was general—only touching upon the surface facts. Freud's method, whether valid or not, at least attempted to throw light on the inner mechanism; and the X-ray apparatus in this case is the *application of symbolism* in the direction of the *vita sexualis,* or between this sphere and others, like the ego complex. What Freud has recognized, after he had focused on the sex urge, is the protean form it may take, and the frequency with which one experience points to another without there being any apparent connection between the two. It is this emphasis on the continual transformation of one thing into another, on the constant pointing relationship where one experience means another, that lends the characteristic we call ' dynamic ' to Freud's psychology. Our septuagenarian has thus raised the science from the mechanical plane to a dynamic level.

This elevation could have been achieved in but one way, *viz.,* through the *interpretation of symbols;* and this faculty, I contend, is a pronounced

feature of the Jewish mind. The Prophets have made use of a dramatic symbolism in their ecstatic exhortations, and the Talmud is replete with symbolistic interpretations of the Scriptures, while Cabbala is just woven out of mystic symbols. Freud's success, however, does not rest wholly on this quality. There is a further element in his make-up. *He is specific* and applies his principles to life situations. Not that all his applications will bear examination, for the extravagance to which Freud, and particularly his disciples, are susceptible is quite palpable to a critical mind; and I have on more than one occasion indicated the fantastic turns which psychoanalysis frequently takes.[1] But in spite of the injudicious juggling of words and numbers at times, one feels that Freud knows what he is driving at. He does not hide behind a barrage of words; he comes to the point, often taking a circuitous route, as demanded by the method he originated, but his meaning is never ambiguous. His clearness has undoubtedly won him many adherents; and the reason why Jung has so few supporters among the Jews is most

[1] In Yiddish the word "Pshetlach" would serve as a good equivalent for the divagations and wholly uncritical quibbling to be encountered in much of the Freudian literature. Were it not for space restrictions I should offer several illustrations of this foible.

likely the fact that they are repelled by his vagueness and abstractness. I have elsewhere called Jung a Neo-Platonist; and therein lies the distinction between him and the Freudians. While psychoanalysis, on the whole, contains a mystical tendency, it is possible to discern two types of this tendency. The one inclines to *realism* and the *concrete;* the other is colored by the *abstract* and harks to the *far-off* and unseen. Freud has brought his message home to the Jewish physicians because they, like him, are concerned with the concrete. They can manipulate the same method as Freud and obtain similar results.

Jung's findings may be taken ambivalently, and although his researches are undeniably brilliant, and in a way, original, they do not compel conviction because his conclusions do not emanate from one well-consolidated system. His facts are not co-ordinated, and his applications to specific cases certainly not so evident as are Freud's. Perhaps Jung would explain my own reaction by his archetype theory, that is to say, being myself a Jew, I cannot, because of my cast of mind, appreciate his system; and therefore find myself more drawn to Freud's doctrine. Such an explanation would, of course, be in perfect accord with the whole thesis set forth in the last few paragraphs.

Adler and Stekel, although forming two left

wings of the movement, possess the same quality of concreteness as Freud, speculative as they prove to be in their symbolistic analyses. With all the aloofness between the master and his former Jewish disciples, he is still closer to them than he is to Jung, which should not seem remarkable in the light of our lengthy discussion.

Freud Thinks His Theory Jewish

Only recently the master himself is reported to have delivered himself of an important utterance in which he ascribed his theory to his Jewish antecedents.

In an article, originally published in *La Revue Juive* (March, 1925) and subsequently appearing in *Imago,* under the caption "The Resistances Against Psychoanalysis," Freud has given expression to his feelings in this matter in an unmistakable manner. Recounting the various objections which have been raised against his doctrine, he closes the essay with the following confidential reflection:

> In conclusion, the author might, in all reserve, submit the question whether his own personality as a Jew who would never conceal his Jewish origin did not have some share in

> the antipathy which the world at large felt toward psychoanalysis. True, an objection of this sort has only seldom been uttered aloud; but, alas, we have grown so suspicious that we can hardly help surmising that the circumstance has not wholly failed to leave its impress. And perhaps it is not purely fortuitious that the first advocate of psychoanalysis has been a Jew. In order to be converted to it, a fair portion of self-sacrifice is necessary in shouldering the lot of isolation caused by opposition, a lot which the Jews are more familiar with than others.[1]

The arch-psychoanalyst has, it seems, only superficially analyzed the situation. Had he taken the pains to delve into the core of the issue, he would certainly have come to some conclusion similar to the one expressed in this essay, but unfortunately his review is subjective and negative. His feelings have taken predominance over his cool reflective faculty, with the result that he develops a persecution complex. Now, it may be perfectly true that a Jewish scientist will encounter greater opposition to his theories than a non-Jew, but that fact does not enlighten us one bit as regards the Jewish element in the theories.

[1] *Imago,* 1925, volume VI, page 233.

The circumstances which Freud mentions are in one respect trivial. The appeal is to sympathy, and the explanation rests on the mutual ill-will of races. But surely this does not account for the Jewish inauguration of and dominance in psychoanalysis. Not every isolated person is likely to originate this method, and there have been many exiled, oppressed and isolated people who have not so much as approached this field.

This attitude of Freud leads us back to a stormy incident which is related by Wittels as having taken place in Nuremberg in 1910, at the time of the Second Psychoanalytic Congress. Jung had been singled out for the presidency of the Psychoanalytic Association, to the discomfiture of the Viennese disciples, who felt that they were being slighted, especially as Jung was suspected of having harbored race prejudice against the Jews.

" On the afternoon of this memorable day, the Viennese analysts had a private meeting in the Grand Hotel at Nuremberg to discuss the outrageous situation. Of a sudden, Freud, who had not been invited to attend, put in an appearance. Never before had I seen him so greatly excited. He said: ' Most of you are Jews, and therefore you are incompetent to win friends for the new teaching. Jews must be content with the modest

rôle of preparing the ground. It is absolutely essential that I should form ties in the world of general science. I am getting on in years, and am weary of being perpetually attacked. We are all in danger.' Seizing his coat by the lapels, he said: 'They won't even leave me a coat to my back. The Swiss will save us—will save me, and all of you as well.' " (Wittels: *Sigmund Freud.*)

In the light of what had happened—and Wittels' book on Freud did not fall into my hands till after I had completed the diagnosis above—the race (persecution) complex of Freud appears in unmistakable form. What an overwhelming tragedy there is contained in this exciting episode, when we reflect on the issue! A Jew comes upon a great discovery. Other Jews are imbued with his doctrines. They become his disciples, but in order for the gospel to spread, a Gentile disciple must be made the apostle. Perhaps Freud was right in his calculations, and perhaps the Jewish supporters did not possess the qualities of leadership which Jung was credited with; perhaps, too, the individualistic traits of the Jewish followers did render them incompetent to make proselytes among the cultured, but as it turned out, the Swiss was less apt to play the part of a savior than any one of the Viennese Jews; and other things equal, one *might ask whether a scientist is justified in*

catering to a prejudiced world in order to propagate his theory. Sincerity and inopportunism I conceive of as the *sine qua non* of science, its very motive, and rather than speed up the progress of an idea artificially, it were much better to place dignity above the time factor. Of course, there are few historical figures so distinguished as Spinoza, who was content to grind his lenses, day in and day out, in the knowledge that his system of truth would some day be published and stir the philosophical world. But therein lies Spinoza's superiority; and Freud's uneasiness complex in this direction does, after all, betoken a slight inferiority feeling. What Freud lacks, above all, in dealing with the question is an understanding of racial psychology. The great analyst stumbles when it is a matter of analyzing the relationship between Jew and non-Jew, and he comes to a conclusion at which we must shrug our shoulders: The Jew is a psychoanalyst because he is persecuted.

How much more scientific, and certainly more in keeping with the principles of analysis, it would be to attempt a *comparison and demarcation* on the lines of racial differences of conception, as dimly suggested by Jung and elaborated here.

Freud is, as has been previously stated, a determinist in his psychology, that is to say, the most

inconsequential happening must be explained as having been determined through some motive, complex or wish, unknown to the experiencer. But the weak link in Freud's system is that he does not carry his determinism back far enough. An experience in the past is made the cause of a present shock or incident. Accordingly, it is in keeping with his tenet to try to explain the Jewish foundations of psychoanalysis on the strength of the experiences of the Jews among the nations; but the connection is decidedly vague. If determinism is to help us solve the problem, as it naturally should, it must be applied in a thoroughgoing way so as to explain not only the phenomenon at issue but also the experiences of the Jews, which are alleged to have paved the way for the elaboration and the acceptance of the psychoanalytic doctrine. In other words, the isolation or persecution of the Jews is in itself something which must be accounted for, and therefore cannot be invoked to illuminate another obscure point.

For this reason, I am disposed to look for the actual causes of the Jewish birth and nursing of psychoanalysis in the *peculiar make-up of the Jew, who is analytical in a psychological sense, and who is constantly reflecting on the Why and Wherefore of everything*, as exemplified by the style of

Ecclesiastes; and having satisfied himself as to the answer, he applies it to the present situation, in which process he is aided by his flair for symbolism, a field in which the Greeks were markedly deficient. And now we are in a position to understand how the Jews were able to overcome the obstacles in their path. What they did was to *bring the future to bear on the present* (that is really the purposive conception of life), and again, to *make the future real* by applying it to the situation at hand, in other words, *actualizing the future instead of dimly anticipating it.* They have, thus, bridged the gulf between the present and the future through the medium of symbols, which probably to others would not indicate anything beyond themselves, but which for the great founder of psychoanalysis, like the Prophets' visions, possessed an extra-literal meaning to be discovered in the depths of the subconscious, and inspired him to realize that there was something more in heaven and earth than our naturalistic psychology ever dreamt of. The Prophets of old acted out their symbols. Freud found the symbolic actions ready-made. All they needed was interpretation; and it was reserved for a Jew, or rather, Jews, to interpret our vast civilization, beginning with the seemingly inconsequential acts of everyday life, and ending with the great problems emanating out of our sex life and ego urge.

Epilogue

In the foregoing essay, I have endeavored to show that psychoanalysis may be regarded as a Jewish production, that Freud was merely giving expression to the *hankering after purpose,* which has characterized the Jewish race from the days of the Prophets, and that the fact of the majority of Freud's constructive pupils being Jewish would tend to confirm our conclusion.

Naturally not all psychoanalysts will subscribe to this proposition, especially those who do not consider the Jews a racial or national unit. For instance, Dr. S. E. Jelliffe, editor of the *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases,* co-editor of the *Psychoanalytic Review* and of the *Nervous and Mental Disease Monographs,* and author of a number of works on nervous diseases and psychoanalysis, writes me: "As for your March thesis, I have little inclination to regard it as sound any more than if you tried to argue the same way for Einstein in mathematics or Spinoza in philosophy, or Mendelssohn or Irving Berlin in music. . . . I think you might just as well ask why so many Calvinists were Swiss; or Lutherans, German; or Swendenborgians, Swedes, or whatever they were—as to ask why, within practically only fifteen years since the movement commenced

to take hold, there are so many Jews in the movement."

Dr. Jelliffe thought he was stifling the issue by throwing a *reductio ad absurdum* argument over it, but it so happens that the instances adduced as a challenge were already discussed on more than one occasion and accepted as a gift. Einstein himself probably would be able to deal most adequately with that racial differential which was responsible for the elaboration of a relativistic physics in contradistinction to the natural philosophy of Newton. As to Spinoza's philosophy being essentially Jewish, far from being a preposterous position to take up, it is rather the accepted view, and many are the scholars and thinkers, including no less a philosopher than Hegel, who saw in Spinoza a blazing spark of the Jewish mind.

With regard to Mendelssohn and, *si parva licet componere magnis,* Berlin, my articles on the former and on "Jews and Jazz" dwelt on this issue at length, and Professor Arthur Foote, one of the two or three leading lights in American classical music, writes me: "Your article about jazz and the Jews who have, as you point out, refined it and given it what real musical value there may be, ought not to have been news to me. I simply hadn't thought it out. I regard it as a

very curious thing that it should have happened through that little group. Your explanation of the process (still going on) is clearly the right one: *e. g.,* I am positive that no group of English descent (as I am) could have had that leavening influence." . . .

Let us not be confuted by Dr. Jelliffe's skepticism, nor by his implication that Jews have taken to the psychoanalytic theory because its founder happens to be a Jew. Perhaps if there were such a country as Jewry (like Germany, Sweden or Switzerland), then a movement inaugurated in such an environment might gather force and appeal largely to Jews because of the Jewish *milieu* in which it was born, but why Jews in Germany or in the United States or in Hungary should become, in their own countries, the chief exponents of the doctrine of an Austrian Jew can only be understood in the light of what I have tried to prove at length; *viz.,* that there is something in the psychoanalytic method and its theory which finds a sympathetic chord in the Jewish ideology.

The Effects of Personal Bias

How personal bias and prejudice will distort the picture! Dr. Jelliffe prefers to strip science and art of their national or racial origins, until, I

suppose, the question centers on American productions. The former disciple of Freud and present associate of Hitler and the Hakenkreuzler, Hans Blüher, has come to a different conclusion. In his *Secessio Judaica,* which has recently appeared in Germany, he rants as follows:

"There are a number of corrupt ideologies of Judaism. . . . an instance of such discovery, the one of the Jew, Sigmund Freud. It is true and attains large proportions, but as the phenomenon of love is missed in it, its corruptive foundation (it is pure materialism) appears in unmistakable form. These trends of thought will become fruitful only when they shall pass through a German brain which is in a position to bring to bear resistance against its perverted origin." We have had, alas, too striking instances of such resistance elicited by the love and charity of Hitler's band of Hakenkreuzler. . . . So far, too, the purely German brains through which the Freudian doctrine was to pass and become purged of its perversion have been slow in making their evidence felt, and Jews, like Hanns Sachs, Ernst Simmel, and the late Karl Abraham,[1] are the only minds in Germany from whom Hans Blüher was to take his instruction. At any rate, they have been looked

[1] A whole number of the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* was recently dedicated to the memory of Abraham.

upon as his towering superiors, *et hinc illae lachrimae*—that explains the bitter jeremiad of the helpless Swastika worshipper.

CHAPTER X

JEWISH FOUNDERS OF NEW PSYCHOLOGICAL MOVEMENT

In the course of my extensive inquiries relative to the contributions of Jews to contemporary thought, I asked a leading figure in European psychology about his antecedents. He was indulgent enough to give a satisfactory answer to this rather delicate question, apparently under the impression that I was merely gratifying my curiosity; but when I explained for what purpose I required the information, he begged me not to write on the subject; for it would neither benefit the Jewish cause, nor advance the interests of the particular school to which he belonged.

This plea appeared to me preposterous. I could understand the logic of ignoring a subject which was too trivial; and had he assigned as the reason for his caution the fact that no one ought to care whether a scientist is a Jew, a Pole, a German, or an Italian, I might possibly have wavered a little before carrying out my original plan; but the grounds mentioned by the psychologist were

such as to make it clear that the subject was by no means an insignificant one. We fear that which we deem important. This is a well-known psychological principle. Hence, far from discouraging me in my endeavor, the admonition to desist has only lent it a more interesting aspect.

In a number of essays, which are soon to be published in book form, I have had occasion to point out the debt which psychology owes to the Jews. Jewish influence is still pervading psychological circles; and since the days of Herz, a pupil of Kant—and one might add, Salomon Maimon, who was co-editor of the first psychological journal ever published,—illustrious names like those of Lazarus, Steinthal, Münsterberg and Freud have been associated with the inception of nearly every new school and movement. We have just seen that psychoanalysis is a Jewish movement, and it would be easy to prove that the whole field of applied psychology has been cultivated by Jewish tillers of the mind. At present, however, we must confine ourselves to the most recent development, namely, the *Gestaltpsychologie,* which has attracted universal attention, and two of whose chief protagonists—Köhler and Koffka —have been lecturing extensively in a number of American universities. The former has, in fact, been invited to fill the chair in psychology at

Harvard University, left vacant by Professor McDougall's resignation.

It is not necessary to go into the depths of the doctrine itself. Let us only brush by on its outskirts. Psychology, as traditionally taught by the pupils of Wundt in Leipzig, which became the Mecca of prospective teachers in psychology, was treated analytically, that is to say, every mental experience was dissolved into its ingredients, so to speak, and each element was studied by itself. If psychology, it was argued, is to be a natural science, then it must be brought under the rubric of the other natural (including the physical) sciences. In chemistry we speak of compounds and elements; therefore, in psychology we must go through with the same procedure.

There were, to be sure, some grumblers even in the heyday of structural psychology, but they were largely philosophers; and their ponderous discourses were not regarded as pertinent to the issue. They lacked the experimental approach and they became lost in a maze of scholastic distinctions.

The years immediately preceding the World War saw a portentous outbreak in the psychological camp. A group of young experimentalists, mostly pupils of Carl Stumpf, Professor-Emeritus of Psychology in the University of Berlin, were

devising some new forms of technique for their experiments, and were surprised at the results, which suggested that the *psychological experience* was something not to be taken apart, but constituted a totality in which the so-called parts had no real significance except in relation to the whole.

It was customary heretofore to study the elements of the mind piece-meal. The emphasis was always laid on the phase attended to *for the moment;* but the *Gestalt* psychologists refuse to cut up our experiences in this artificial fashion. They look upon every mental fact as a pattern, indivisible and not to be explained through its parts. And even the pattern itself is no longer the same pattern if surrounded by a different background. The neat experiments of Rubin, in Copenhagen, have brought this principle home to many a psychologist. The color, the tone, the touch could not be definitely fixed without taking into account the concomitants, the environment, in short, the situation as a whole.

Thus, the doctrine of relativity, which has been definitely formulated by Einstein, was receiving support in a region generally thought to be *toto cælo* different from the sphere of physics. And who should be the man to have clearly enunciated the principle (relation) which later came to be known as the *Gestalt* or " configuration " ? Max

Wertheimer it was—a man who has been described to me by a German colleague of his as a genius of the same order as Einstein, by the way, Wertheimer's boon companion. Wertheimer is regarded as the theoretical leader of the *Gestalt* school, and while his brilliancy is uncontested, his academic influence is greatly curtailed for the age-old reason which every reader can surmise. Nevertheless, when Köhler, Stumpf's successor at Berlin, was lecturing at Harvard University and other places in America, Wertheimer substituted for him at the University of Berlin as director of the Psychological Laboratory.

It is to Wertheimer that Professor Wolfgang Köhler, head of the Division of Philosophy and Psychology at the University of Berlin, has dedicated his latest book *Gestalt Psychology* (1929), supplementing his inscription by the following gracious sentiment in the preface:

> To Max Wertheimer I should like to dedicate something of which I could be prouder than these ten chapters. I hope he will accept them, however, as a testimony of my good will and of our friendship.

Now, Wertheimer is by no means the only Jew to hold the reins of the new *Gestalt* or "shape" school. The man who works out the applications

of this school in the field of education and who gives the doctrine the philosophical setting which it needs is Kurt Koffka of the University of Giessen, whose mother was a Jewess. Koffka's book on child psychology, *The Growth of the Mind,* has been translated by Professor Ogden of Cornell, who in the preface of his own *Psychology and Education,* which is inscribed to Koffka, speaks of coming under the influence of the latter. As editor-in-chief of the substantial periodical of his school, *Psychologische Forschung,* Koffka may be considered the executive head of the movement. Closely associated with him in the editorship of the Journal are Max Wertheimer and Kurt Goldstein. The latter is a neurologist and serves as the principal physiological theorist of the school.

This is not, however, where we are to stop. While engaged in an extensive experimental investigation on the perception of patterns or figures, Edgar Rubin, who recently succeeded Alfred Lehmann, also a Jew, as Director of the Psychological Laboratory in the University of Copenhagen (In the abode of the original Nordics, in the land where something was rotten in Hamlet's time only, "Nordomania" is not so pronounced as in certain blatantly tolerant countries), observed phenomena similar to those of Wert-

heimer and independently obtained similar results. His book on visually perceived figures was published in Danish at about the same time the Berlin group was bringing its data to light. A Jew in Berlin and a Jew in Copenhagen, then, hit upon the same mine without intercommunication.

Nor must we forget that it was David Katz, Professor of Psychology at Rostock and contributor to the *Scripta* of the Hebrew University, who offered material support to the *Gestalt* theory through his experiments on the perception of color on the part of chickens—which showed that fowls too recognize by perceiving relations between colors rather than by sensing the color in itself, regardless of the total experience.

There are, of course, a number of other names associated with the *Gestalt* school, which suggest that their bearers might be Jews—among the most important, those of Gelb and Fuchs. The most promising of the younger men in this group seems to be Kurt Lewin, whose contributions to the problems of human motivation and personality have elicited wide interest. In the latest issue of the *Psychological Review* (May 1929) there is an extensive article describing "The Methods of Kurt Lewin in the Psychology of Action and Affection." Indeed, I have learned from a reputed scholar who studied together with

von Hornbostel, the tone psychologist of the group, that he too had one Jewish parent.[1]

In the current issue of the *Psychologische Forschung* (At the time this chapter first appeared, in the form of an article, the current issue happened to be that of October, 1925, volume VII, double number 1 and 2. Later issues, while not so strikingly homogeneous in this regard, nevertheless contain a goodly number of papers by Jewish writers) there is only one article which indicates that its author is a non-Jew (a Catholic priest) and even this paper was submitted by Wertheimer. The rest are by Annie Stern, Koffka, Feinberg, Schur, and Wertheimer. Of course, this is in part a coincidence, but one which bespeaks the activity of Jewish investigators in this new movement. Moreover, we have no way of telling just how many of those Germans who are prominent in the *Gestalt* camp may have had Jewish grandparents. It is enough to limit ourselves to the facts already known in order to draw the con-

[1] In a later number of *Psychologische Forschung,* which reached me after writing this essay, there is an obituary notice by von Hornbostel of Otto Abraham, who, although a physician, made many important contributions to the psychology of music, his last research, "Tonometric Investigations of a German Folk-Song," appearing in the above periodical. Otto Abraham died within a month of Karl Abraham, late president of the International Psychoanalytic Association, and was probably a kinsman of the disciple of Freud.

clusion that, with the exception of Köhler and several minor subalterns, the originators and promoters of the new *Gestalt* psychology are of Jewish descent. And lest it seem that I am exaggerating the influence of this new movement in order to reap an advantage for the present essay, let me quote the opening sentence of a paper, " The New Psychology of ' Shape,' " by Professor Spearman of the University of London, noted British psychologist and statistician, in the *British Journal of Psychology* (Jan., 1925, vol. XV).

" At the present moment, especially in German-writing countries, scarcely any topic is causing more stir among professional psychologists than the attempt to reconstruct the science of what has been variously named 'shapes,' (*Gestalten*), ' forms,' ' wholes,' ' complexes,' ' complexions,' ' structures.' "

It is significant that although the Jews have played an important part in the founding of different branches and schools in psychology, they have stood, with one possible exception, singularly aloof from Behaviorism, which is a tribute to their good sense. But even here, it would not be difficult to show that Stricker's observations on speech imagery [1] were the harbinger of Watson's

[1] Salomon Stricker: *Studien über die Bewegungsvorstellungen,* Vienna, 1882.

extreme view that all thought is nothing but the imperceptible movement of the speech organs. The eminent Viennese pathologist knew better than that; although that is not the reason why his pioneer work in that field, adverted to by William James, greatest of American psychologists, was not even so much as mentioned by Watson, the generalissimo of the psychological materialists.

PART III

CHAPTER XI

JEWS AND THE NOBEL PRIZE

It is a little surprising that the omniscient Henry Ford has not undertaken an inquiry into the activities of the Nobel Institute in Stockholm so as to ascertain whether the "Elders of Zion" have not used undue influence to beguile the judges into making gratuitous awards to Jewish scientists. Lest this be taken as mere pleasantry, let us remind the readers that not so very long ago the *Dearborn Independent*'s scientific "expert" disclosed Einstein to be a charlatan who, first of all, had appropriated to himself a theory which others had worked out in every detail, and, secondly, was promulgating this doctrine, which happens to be false to boot.

Long before Mr. Ford[1] loomed up as a world savior, his infinitely more brilliant fellow-Judeophobe, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, was piling Ossa upon Pelion to prove that the Jews were an ignorant lot, wholly without the slightest proclivity for the physical sciences; and as fate would

[1] In view of his reincarnation, these critical references are printed with apologies to Mr. Ford.

have it, exactly a decade after this British renegade had raved thus, our Michelson receives the Nobel Prize for physics, and the year following the same honor is conferred upon Gabriel Lippmann, while exactly 25 years after Chamberlain had delivered himself of his *pronunciamento,* Einstein is officially recognized as the greatest physicist of his time and unofficially regarded as the qualitative successor of Newton.

Of course, there is still a loophole for contention on the part of the cavilling crew, *viz.*, that the $30,000 which constitutes the Nobel Prize has proved a great incentive for Jewish scientists to redouble their energy and improve their intellect. For, has not the simian sage of the nineteenth century declared: *"L'argent fut l'objet de leur conduite dans tous les temps"?* And what greater authority is there in such matters than Voltaire—for Chamberlain & Co., at any rate? But let us not dwell on these specters of prejudice and perversity of mind. Scanning our achievements may not only serve the purpose of silencing the bigoted enemy but can be put to other and less combative uses. The record of a people's achievement may fairly be taken as an index of that people's vitality. Hegel, as is well known, developed his fundamental doctrine in the philosophy of history on the basis that no nation

is entitled to exist unless it continues making contributions to the world's progress. Its failure to add to the culture of the world in reality spells its doom as a separate unit.

There was a time when Jewish leaders were inclined to gulp down with equanimity the slur that the Jewish people produced no geniuses of a high order. Of course, they would point apologetically to Spinoza, Heine and Disraeli, but seemed to be helpless in their further endeavors. So long as no concerted efforts had been made to explore the field of Jewish biography, as other nations have done, the depreciator of Jewish genius necessarily remained unchastened. It is only lately that a slight improvement has been evinced in this direction. What a sorry figure old Voltaire would have cut to-day if he had repeated the absurd claim: *Les Juifs n'ont jamais rien inventé!* How the pioneer aviation experiments of Lilienthal, the Wassermann reaction, the Salvarsan of Ehrlich, the Hertzian waves, and the numerous other discoveries and inventions of the hated race would have stared him out of countenance until he retracted his libel!

Naturally, we may imagine that men of the Voltaire-Chamberlain brand would not be convinced by the decision of any tribunal other than their own; but then the intellectual world at large

may appeal to the verdict of learned societies, universities and institutes, such as the Nobel Foundation, before the final stamp of approval or disapproval by posterity can be resorted to by the investigators of future generations.

Like every other institution, the Nobel Foundation has its limitations; and its board of directors, which consists exclusively of Swedish *savants,* has most likely favored more than one Scandinavian candidate, thus making itself guilty of errors both of commission and omission. In general, however, we may surmise that the greatest contributors to the benefit of mankind in at least the fields of physics, chemistry and medicine will in time have been recognized by the judges. As for literature and peace endeavors, there is more room for misgiving as to the absolute fairness of the award. To cite an instance, the colossus of European letters, Anatole France, was created a Nobel laureate only in 1921, while six Scandinavian writers, contemporaries of his, were given priority over him—and Ibsen was not among them! I suppose that the Board of Directors of the Nobel Foundation are of the same disposition as Pastor Rörlund, in the *Pillars of Society,* who explains to the wives of the " pillars " that " Our task, ladies, is to keep society pure—to exclude from it all the dangerous elements which an impatient age would force upon us."

Perhaps this pure-mindedness is responsible for the fact that the Jews are represented in literature by one-and-a-half [1] laureates—Paul Heyse (son of Felix Mendelssohn's tutor), whose mother was Jewish, and now the philosopher, Henri Bergson —when we can point to such *littérateurs* as Schnitzler, Fulda, Werfel, Feuchtwanger, Ludwig, Peretz, Bialik, Asch, Marcel Schwob, Proust, Wassermann, Brandes, von Hofmannsthal, Zangwill, Pinero, Heijermans and Henry Bernstein. If, however, we have not filled our quota in literature, we have more than retrieved our reputation in physics, chemistry and medicine, also acquitting ourselves creditably as peace mediators.

Of the 139 Nobel laureates, at least fifteen are Jews, or of Jewish descent. When we consider that the French and the Germans alone have outstripped our number by a narrow margin; that of the hundred million Russians, only Pavlov and Metchnikoff, who on his mother's side belonged to a family of rabbis, received the prize; that the Poles can count no more than Sinkiewicz, Madame Curie, and recently Reymont—when we consider the advantages in numbers on the part of these

[1] Possibly Grazia Deledda should be counted as half a Jewish laureate, and, together with her, no less a person than Anatole France. This question will be discussed in the next few pages.

nationalities over the fifteen million Jews in existence, we may proceed to establish a coefficient of genius and come to the conclusion that this coefficient is remarkably high among the Jews.

It so happens that the first Jew to be crowned a Nobel laureate, A. A. Michelson, was also the first American upon whom the honor was conferred in the sciences. I understand, too, that it was largely the Michelson-Morley light experiment which supplied the fulcrum for Einstein to raise his theory from a mere hypothesis to a verifiable fact.

The following year, 1908, saw two-and-a-half Jewish laureates, Lippmann, the "Frenchman," in physics, Ehrlich the "German" and *per contra* Metchnikoff, who took pains to make it known in the Nobel awards proceedings that his mother was of Jewish descent. His maternal grandfather is said to have been a Jewish teacher in Pinsk.

Among the other Jewish laureates, we find Richard Willstätter, Otto Wallach and Fritz Haber, crowned for their researches in chemistry, Robert Bárány, for his investigations on the anatomy of the ear, Paul Heyse (whose mother was Jewish) for literature, Einstein for his well-known contribution to mathematical physics and Asser and Fried for their work in promoting peace. Tobias Michael Asser, it will be recalled,

was not only the foremost authority of his day on international law, but also presided at the Hague Peace Tribunal, which was organized largely through his endeavors. Alfred Fried, on the other hand, assisted the cause of peace by wielding his trenchant pen in the face of diplomacy. Both of these apostles did not survive the catastrophe which they were so zealous to avert.

The most recent Jewish laureates are James Franck of Göttingen and Gustav Hertz of Halle, who, while working together in Berlin, gave the first proof of the value of Max Planck's quantum theory; and, last but not least, Henri Bergson.

But here the list does not necessarily end. We have good reason to suppose that Anatole France, much as this may astonish many people, is of Jewish descent. Not only have I heard this from different sources, but in one case, at least, on reliable authority.

If appearances count, we should include in that group the Spanish writer, Jacinto Benavente, crowned some years ago for his literary prowess, although Benavente's striking Semitic features and expression may bespeak Moorish antecedents as well as Jewish. Whether Madame Curie is of Jewish origin may properly be questioned, in spite of the fact that repeated allusions have been made

to the alleged Jewish origin of her father, a professor of physics in Poland. These intimations she is said to have publicly denied while touring in this country.

Another world-renowned laureate about whom there seems to be considerable doubt is Walther Nernst. I have seen nothing in the Jewish press pointing to the origin of this physical chemist, but an indictment, against the Berlin scientist, in the *National Review* by a fellow of the British Association intimated that his object of attack was not only a German, but in addition a Jew (!) (". . . the explosive of the widely-known German —or, shall we say, Jewish—physicist, Nernst.") A similar impression I gained from a description by one of his English lady students in another British journal, also at the time of the World War.

As for Grazia Deledda, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1927, we should never have known that there was any but Italian blood in her veins, were it not for an anti-Semitic speech delivered about a year ago at a gathering of German nationalists. As reported by the press at the time, the orator, whose name was not given, worked himself up into a fervor and thunderingly asked: "To what race does this Grazia Deledda belong, this representative of Italian

literature? To the Jewish race, of course! Did she not once boast of being descended from the noble Sephardim, who after expulsion from Spain at the end of the fifteenth century settled in Italy and the islands of the Mediterranean?" It would be interesting to obtain confirmation from the lady herself, if she has not forgotten the occasion. What a fine memory some of the anti-Semites are endowed with!

It is rather noteworthy that the only Nobel laureates who made any reference to their Jewish stock were Metchnikoff and Heyse, both of Gentile paternity. The full-blooded Jews who carried off the palm apparently did not care to have their ancestry mentioned in the proceedings of the Nobel Institute. In this respect, they differed from Madame Curie and others, who, though acknowledging their adopted country, were not oblivious of the nationality from which sprang their genius.

Not even Einstein, whose attitude toward Jewish nationalism is anything but relative, thought of mentioning his Jewish affiliations in his laconic autobiographical sketch, but perhaps he did not consider it necessary in his case; and as he packed his whole life into exactly 155 words, the reference to his race might have just exceeded the bounds of brevity, so characteristic of the man.

It is gratifying to see that Neils Bohr did not attempt to hide the fact that his mother's maiden surname was Adler—a common Jewish patronymic.

The comparatively recent achievements of the Jews in the physical sciences possess a special significance for us in the light of what has been reiterated *ad nauseam* about Jewish sterility in this branch of science. Even some of our own spokesmen have allowed themselves to be inveigled by the cry. In his rickety *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century,* the ex-Kaiser's literary chamberlain, whose patronymic could not have been more appropriately chosen, quotes from such a "philo-Semitic work" as Grau's *Semiten und Indo-Germanen,* in support of his contention that the Jews are much too subjective a people to be impelled by the urge of science; hence the physical sciences, understood in the objective sense, are unknown to the Jews (paragraph 385). Certainly that is true of all peoples; for the individuals who may be said to have cultivated the study of physics and chemistry are few and far between, whether they be Semites or Indo-Europeans. But the significant fact does stand out that while the Arabs have never advanced beyond their intermediary activities during the Middle Ages—indeed have retrograded steadily since—the Jews can

point to Einstein and Michelson, Wallach and Willstätter as second to no Indo-Germanic physicists and chemists.

The great mistake of men like Voltaire and Chamberlain seems to have arisen out of their intellectual myopia. Having observed that the Jews have evinced a special predilection for the *Geisteswissenschaften*—the cultural sciences—they have in haste concluded that the Jew has no capacity for the empirical sciences. But these critics failed to consider *Jewish adaptability*. Though scholarship has been for many centuries the *forte* of the Jews, it is well known that mathematics and medicine had been cultivated with equal zeal, though until recently with less success. The latest generation has witnessed a phenomenal rise in the activities of the Jews along the line of the experimental sciences. It would take too much space to enumerate the shining lights of Semitic origin in such fields as mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and the medical sciences. It will suffice to say that without Georg Cantor, Einstein, Michelson, Neisser, Jacobi, Hertz, Wassermann, Ehrlich, Flexner, Haffkine and a few others of the same stock, our whole scientific texture would have been different; and it might have taken decades, if not centuries, for a purely Indo-European or (after the fashion of the day) Nordic

civilization to attain to the height we have reached through the efforts and intellect of these sons of Israel, some of whom, like Wassermann, Neisser, and Ehrlich, have not only brought honor upon Chamberlain's adopted country, but have even been instrumental in relieving many a Jew-baiter of his agonizing distress incurred through youthful indiscretion.

If anyone deserves the Nobel Prize for his great contribution to science, it is Sigmund Freud, originator of the psychoanalytic method. It may be thought that, after all, he did not discover an absolute cure or toxin, in fact, that his theoretical work lies more in the sphere of psychology and philosophy, and is speculative to boot. In that case, however, he ought to be considered a candidate for the Nobel Prize in literature, since Rudolf Eucken and Henri Bergson, although philosophers, have been awarded the prize for literature. As a matter of fact, Freud has not only initiated a whole school in literature; for many are the *literati* who treat their subject—whether it is biography, drama or the novel and short story—psychoanalytically, but his own style in writing is marked by a grace and clarity that are rare in scientific works.

Naturally, I am not so sanguine as to suppose that Freud will be chosen for the honor. The

spirit which permeates Freud's philosophy, his naturalistic leaning, his pessimistic outlook and baring of the family skeleton of man would hardly recommend themselves to the conservative element of Sweden, or, in fact, of any Nordic country. "Our task, ladies,"—as Ibsen's pastor, Rörlund, says—"is to keep society pure."

Every serious student of Jewish biography must have appreciated the difficulty one is confronted with in attempting to establish with certainty the Jewish descent of a famous man or woman. Wherever, therefore, the fact is not known to be absolute, it seems advisable to refer to the sources of the particular information.

At a later date, after the study of Jewish biography is placed on a more established footing, we should probably be obliged to add a few more names to our honor roll, such as Henri Moissan, famous French chemist, who, according to the eminent Anglo-Jewish physicist, Sir Arthur Schuster, is of Jewish descent (See Harrow's notes, entitled, "Jews Who Have Received the Nobel Prize," in the *American Jewish Year Book,* 1923-1924, vol. XXV), and the distinguished Danish physicist, Niels Bohr, whose research work on the atom has been of the greatest consequence. Brodetsky, writing on the Jewish contribution to scientific research in *The Real*

Jew, mentions the Jewish origin of Bohr; and similar allusions have come to me independently from two or three non-Jewish sources. That Bohr's mother was a Jewess seems to have been corroborated by several other scientists, and I find his biographical sketch included in Wininger's *Grosse jüdische National-Biographie* (volume I), as well as in the *Jüdisches Lexikon.* Had Moissan and Bohr been affiliated with any other civilized people, the facts of their descent would have long since been shorn of the mystery which seems to envelop them.

Making allowance for the laureates whose immediate Jewish origin is doubtful, we may still credit the Jews with fully 11 per cent of the total number of laureates—a higher proportion than that of any other nationality, with the exception of the Danes, who possess seven laureates, although the population of Denmark is about four million. Sweden runs a close second to Denmark with Norway practically at its side. But, as already pointed out, the prepossession for Scandinavian scientists and men of letters may have been a factor in this case. Certainly, the Jews can hardly be suspected of exercising a special charm over the Swedish Academy or committees on Nobel awards, even if the most active spirit among them happens to be a Jew—the celebrated

historian of literature, Henrik Schück. Apart from the Scandinavians, the Dutch and the Swiss (the latter of whom shine particularly in peace endeavors) can be said to compete with the Jews.

The banner year for Jewish laureates was the period between 1906 and 1907, when nearly one-third of the prize-winners belonged to the scattered people. Here, by the way, was displayed true internationality; for among them was an American Jew (Michelson), a French Jew (Lippmann), a German Jew (Ehrlich), and a Russian half-Jew (Metchnikoff). Since 1907, scarcely a year passed but that one or two Jews carried off the palm which was planted by the Nordic dynamite king.

CHAPTER XII

HEBREW LETTERS IN HIGHER MATHEMATICS

In the last chapter, the suggestion has been made that some of our Judeophobes institute an inquiry to determine whether the Nobel Institute in Sweden was not unduly influenced by the Elders of Zion in awarding proportionately more prizes to scientists of Jewish descent than to those of non-Jewish origin. In this little essay, or rather *feuilleton,* I wish to call the attention of the anti-Semites to the conspiracy among mathematicians to introduce Hebrew symbols in higher mathematics.

To be sure, we must not look for a great deal of evidence in regard to the Judaization of mathematics, but what little is to be discovered may well be of interest.

It was while looking into a ponderous and technical volume of Bertrand Russell, philosopher and mathematician, but more popularly known as a publicist, that I was struck by a very familiar symbol. Certainly it was not one which I should have expected to find in such a work.

At first I supposed that the great resemblance between the symbol and the first letter in the Hebrew alphabet was merely a coincidence. It was clear, however, that the character was identical with the *aleph.* Now the question was: Did Russell first introduce the *aleph* into mathematics, or was there a Jewish hand in it? Naturally, the latter hypothesis seemed more reasonable, though we know that it is customary for Jewish scientists to go very much out of their way to avoid introducing any mark of their antecedents into their work. Protective coloration, as Zangwill has already observed, is very much in vogue among the species *Judæus Scientificus,* so that a Jewish mathematician, in need of a new term or symbol, would more likely draw on a Sanscrit source than on a Hebrew one.

In the present case, however, there occurred an anomaly, for the man who was responsible for the *aleph* in mathematics did come of the stock of Abraham, and his name was Georg Cantor, a relative of Moritz Cantor, the historian of mathematics *par excellence,* who is confused with the former by the compiler of the index in Jacobs' *Jewish Contributions to Civilization.*

Georg Cantor, who was born in St. Petersburg in 1845 and died at Halle in 1918, may be looked upon as the man who established the mathematics

of infinity, thus bringing into the science not only a new dimension but a new mode of thinking. The great mathematician, Gauss, had, by his authoritative decree, once and for all, as it seemed to his contemporaries and the succeeding generation of mathematicians, half a century before, given the *congé* to the concept of infinity in mathematics except as a mere limit, not as a thing allowing of definite relations (Adolf Fraenkel, "*Einleitung in die Mengenlehre,*" page 1). It was left to Georg Cantor, not only to dispute this doctrine, but actually to supplant it in favor of a decidedly broader view, which represents transfinite numbers on an equal footing with the finite series. Euclid's axiom: "The whole is greater than its part," with which we are all familiar, must be further qualified in the light of the new mathematical system, and thus becomes only a *general* axiom, not an *absolute* and universal one.

Cantor, like his younger and more famous contemporary in mathematical physics, Albert Einstein, was obliged to contend against a host of great minds until his voice was heard. In the eighties of the last century, after dealing with the negative views regarding the possibility of infinite numbers set forth by philosophers from the time of Aristotle, Cantor put his finger on the weak spot and declared, "All so-called proofs

of the impossibility of actually infinite numbers are, as may be shown in every particular case and also on general grounds, false in that they begin by attributing to the numbers in question all the properties of finite numbers, whereas the infinite numbers, if they are to be thinkable in any form, must constitute quite a new kind of number as opposed to the finite numbers, and the nature of this new kind of number is dependent on the nature of things and is an object of investigation." (*Contributions to the Founding of the Theory of Transfinite Numbers*, Jourdain's translation, page 74). This observation was the first step to the establishment of a mathematics of classes, aggregates, or types—in other words, to the conception that in the realm of number we are dealing with types of order, and that every class or aggregate is a "totality of definite elements which can be bound up into a whole by means of a law."

Cantor has accomplished in mathematics what two other celebrated Jews, *viz.*, Lazarus, and Steinthal, have accomplished in psychology, showing that the mental properties of a group of people are not to be confused with the characteristics of the individuals who go to make up the group, and it is not an idle compliment when Bertrand Russell, acknowledged as the fore-

most mathematical philosopher of our time, says in the introduction to his *Principles of Mathematics*—the work on which his reputation rests —" In mathematics my chief obligations, as is indeed evident, are to Georg Cantor and Professor Peano."

But we must leave these somewhat abstruse regions and turn back to *aleph.* What then is an *aleph* in mathematics? Cantor makes this symbol designate a class of transfinite numbers, the smallest of which would be denoted by *aleph*-zero and would consist of the totality of finite cardinal numbers. The series may be drawn out endlessly by placing at the bottom of the *aleph,* to the right, various symbols—first of all in Arabic numericals, then in Greek, such as *nu* and *omega*—and even then the series of classes is not exhausted.

The lighter phase of Cantor's contribution, however, is this: that henceforth no mathematician of Jewish descent will be able to boast that he doesn't know what an *aleph* looks like, nor will the common expression in Yiddish *"Er ken afile kein tsuras aleph nit"* be true of him.

Let me add that the uninitiate who pick up the 1908 issue of the *Annuario del Circolo Matematico di Palermo,* which is a biographical handbook for mathematicians, will not know what to make

of the tiny symbol ℵ before the names of some of the members. As the first name to which this *aleph* is attached happens to be that of a Jewish mathematician, it may be thought that this symbol represents a secret code by which to disclose that certain members are Jews; but at the head of the list we are told that this letter is intended to indicate that the member opposite whose name the *aleph* appears is a life member of the Circolo. The appropriateness of this symbol, in view of the denotation of the *aleph* in mathematics, to signify permanence of membership is, it would seem, almost obvious.

The other symbol which may be regarded as a Hebrew character is a sort of inverted C, but which a Jew would easily recognize as a *kaph,* though it is hardly likely that Peano, who has introduced the symbol into mathematics, had taken it from that source. Originally, of course, the Roman C was merely an inversion of the Phœnician letter which in Hebrew is called *kaph.* But it is noteworthy that in mathematics, this symbol stands for the word " implies," and the *kaph* is the most suitable letter to designate the relation of implication, for it is used in the sense of "like" very frequently.

Thus do we find that the very abstract and detached sphere of mathematics has not been able

to withstand the onslaught of Jewish invasion; and if only the reaching out into the Hebrew alphabet for symbols continues, we may hope that some day in the infinite future, certain Jews who " have no interest " in things Jewish may become Hebrew scholars *via* mathematics.

Postscript

Dr. Eugen Freund of Oppeln, Germany, commending the above essay, when it appeared as an article in the *B'nai B'rith Magazine,* suggested, in a communication to the editors, that the sign of a triangle (base up), introduced by Sir William Rowan Hamilton in vector analysis to designate an operator which gives the rate and direction of the most rapid change, at each point in space, when applied to a distributed scalar quantity, and which to this day is referred to as a *nabla,* is derived from the Hebrew word *Nevel,* a lyre or harp. While it is true, of course, that the two words are cognate, Dr. Freund, undoubtedly, is aware that the mathematical term *nabla* has been taken directly from the Greek νάβλα, a lyre, which, most likely, owes its origin to Phœnician traders, who introduced not only the Semitic alphabet but many words, as well as objects and devices, into Greece.

CHAPTER XIII

THE JEWS AND RELATIVITY

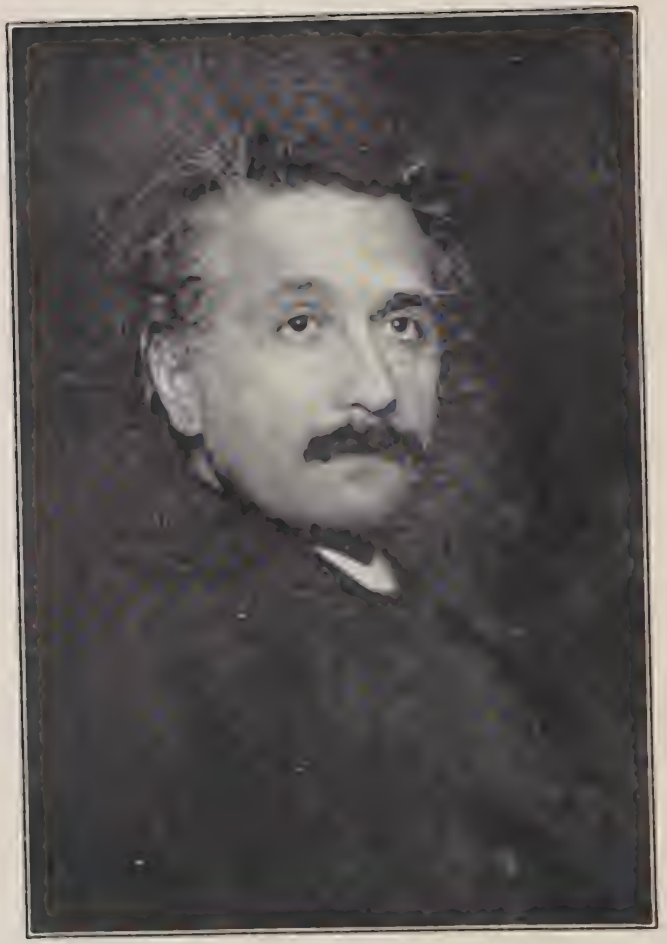
Of all the great revolutions in thought that have been thrust upon an unwilling world in the last few centuries, that of relativity seems to have had the most far-reaching effect in intellectual circles. Whatever might be thought of the special theories of relativity, the general doctrine is here to stay. The literature on the subject constitutes a library of many thousands of volumes and articles. There is scarcely a branch of science which has not been affected to some extent by this remarkable innovation, and yet its importance does not lie in its being an innovation but in being proven a fact. Its truth has been demonstrated more than once and all its traducers have not been able to dislodge it from its scientific throne.

It is common knowledge that the man whose name is most intimately associated with the theory of relativity is a Jew of unmistakable Semitic origin and avowedly nationalistic tendencies. Albert Einstein has already taken his place with Galileo, Kepler, Copernicus and Newton in the forefront of scientific achievement. But it is not

generally known that the doctrine of relativity has been reared, so to speak, on a Jewish foundation. It was not Einstein alone who evolved this cosmic theory. He had his predecessors in physics and mathematics, as well as his collaborators, and it may be of significance that the most prominent among them are Jews.

Perhaps the starting-point in the development of the relativity theory was the result of an experiment made possible through the ingenuity, if not genius, of another Jew, also an Albert. It was Albert Abraham Michelson, a German-born Jew, making his domicile in America, who constructed the giant interferometer which was the essential medium in the famous Michelson-Morley experiment. There were, to be sure, other experiments undertaken to ascertain whether there was an ether drift with the earth's motion or not, and possibly Michelson's rather negative result was one of several bits of evidence which were instrumental in overturning the Newtonian system; but it seems as if Einstein was more impressed by the amazing technique of the Michelson-Morley experiment in 1887, which, by the way, was the earliest, as well as the most accurate, of all these tests.

It is not my purpose to enter into the intricacies of the relativity theory, even were I to flatter my-



ALBERT EINSTEIN
(1879–)

self in supposing that I belong to the proverbial few who are thoroughly conversant with it. It is only as an historian, approaching his subject from a certain angle, namely, the socio-psychological angle, that I am eager to bring up the matter here.

If Einstein has taken his cue from a Jew on the physical side, he has turned to another Jew on the mathematical side. The name of the distinguished mathematician in Italy, Levi-Civita, is for obvious reasons, less well-known than that of Michelson, but it was this Italian Jew who practically created the branch of mathematics called tensor calculus, which enables us to analyze manifolds of any number of dimensions. The doctrine of relativity contains so many aspects that threads must be seen connecting it with a number of different scientific branches.

It is a pity that those who consider Lorentz a Jew are mistaken about his origin, for it was this Leyden mathematical physicist who served as the forerunner of Einstein, in that he supplied the famous "transformation" formula for turning one set of co-ordinates (say, at rest in an ether) into another set (in motion with a given velocity). Lorentz has so often been represented to me as Jewish by his students, and looks so much like his great compatriot, Jozef Israëls, that at one time

there was no doubt in my mind that he belonged to Einstein's race. Even Weyl, the chief exponent of relativity after Einstein, supposed that Lorentz was a Jew, but to make sure, I took the liberty of addressing the question, which at times is rather delicate, to the man himself, and his reply was an explicit denial that he was of Jewish descent.[1] Lorentz's "foreignness" in this regard somewhat lessens the solidarity of the Semitic builders of the relativity conception, but Lorentz, I understand from some of his students, was so modest as to give Einstein all the credit for the discovery, and he even referred to the transformation formula as the Einstein equation.

If, however, Lorentz could not be added to the list of Jewish scientists who might be regarded as the midwives of the relativity principle, at least one other brilliant Jewish name can be added to our record—that of the lamented mathematical giant, Minkowski. It was he who supplied the notation for the great symphony which Einstein conceived. According to Herman Weyl (*Space-Time-Matter,* English translation of the

[1] Since the article constituting this chapter was originally published, the great Dutch physicist has been removed from the material world. Had it not been for the valued evidence which is contained in his letter, a controversy on his racial origin could easily have arisen some years hence. Necessity has thus triumphed even morally over delicacy.

fourth German edition, page 173), "The adequate mathematical foundation of Einstein's discovery was first given by Minkowski * * * To him we are indebted for the idea of a four dimensional world geometry, on which we based our arguments from the outset."

Weyl himself, who ranks as the leading authority on relativity next to Einstein, and whose original investigations on the subject have been universally recognized, has also been taken for a Jew in many quarters, perhaps because his name sounds Jewish. Again I thought it best to have the fact on record, and Professor Weyl was kind enough to advise me in writing that he did not come from Jewish stock. In his case we might almost tell his Nordic origin from his appearance.

It is a pity that the solid essay ("Jewish Thought in the Modern World") of Leon Roth in *The Legacy of Israel* (1927), planned by the late Israel Abrahams and edited by E. R. Bevan and Charles Singer, both of whom are reputed scholars, should have been marred by such an error as thrusting upon Professor Weyl a Jewish ancestry. Once more we must realize that we cannot be too careful in investigating a man's racial origin.

In America, the chief exponent of the relativity theory is Ludwik Silberstein, formerly lecturer at

the University of Rome. The second enlarged edition of his *Theory of Relativity* was recently published by Macmillan. Some years ago, Silberstein, who is at present with the Eastman Kodak Company in Rochester, was invited to give a series of lectures on relativity by the University of Toronto, which at the time undertook the publication of the course. He gave similar courses at the University of Chicago and Cornell University.

Max Born's felicitous exposition, which has passed through several editions in German, appeared in an English translation, as early as 1922, under the title of *Einstein's Theory of Relativity*. The author is a leading Jewish physicist, teaching at the University of Göttingen.

We must not forget that the theory of relativity also provoked a great deal of discussion in the academic philosophical world, and here, again, we find that those who showed a mastery of the subject and made a deep impression on workers in that field by their penetrating analysis of the concepts are Bergson and Cassirer. There have been, of course, many other writers who dealt with the philosophical phase of this universal doctrine, but the works of the French Jew and the German Jew tower above the rest. More recently, another Franco-Jewish philosopher, Émile Meyerson, has published a vigorous discussion of

the relativity theory that created a good deal of comment.

No wonder Count Alfred Korzybski, himself a deep student of the implications of relativity, writes me that whenever he finds it necessary to peruse a book in connection with his investigations, he almost always finds it to be the product of a Jewish author, which fact, he goes on to say, discloses not only Polish but also Jewish elements in his results.

The best biography of Albert Einstein is written by Alexander Moszkowski, and even if it bears the earmarks of a Boswellian attitude, it is none the less fascinating. *Apropos* of our fundamental point of view, there is a striking sentence in this biography, which goes to show that, even in his early youth, Einstein was influenced by a Jewish work. "A new world was opened for him," Moszkowski tells us, "when he made the acquaintance of A. Bernstein's comprehensive popular books on scientific subjects." (*Einstein, the Searcher,* page 225, English translation.) This same Aaron Bernstein, who wrote *Vögele der Maggid* and other Jewish novels, also apparently wrote the first letter of relativity in Einstein's plastic mind.

Jewish Adversaries of Einstein

It would be a mistake to conclude that Einstein has attracted all the Jewish philosophers and scientists to his theory, although in a leaflet that came with the *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie,* I once came across a plea which, among other things, would indicate that the Jewish scientific workers have made it their business to give wide currency to Einstein's doctrine. The charge is rather familiar, but we shall see presently through whose offices the Einstein theory came to be universally accepted in scientific circles.

For the present, let us note that one of the chief opponents of the Einstein conception is Professor Oskar Kraus, at the German University of Prague, a Jew, who, because of his attachment to the philosophy of Brentano, undertook to demolish a solidly built edifice with rather theoretical weapons. Brentano represented a certain absolutism in philosophy. Although he renounced his priesthood, he yet was possessed of the Roman Catholic spirit, and it is this spirit which now possesses Kraus and makes futile passes against an iron-clad knight. It goes without saying that Einstein has some warm adherents even among clerical *savants.*

Conclusions and Reflections

I fear that some readers who are altogether sold to the slogan that "science knows of no nationality"—until, naturally, their own country's scientists are under discussion—will frown upon the idea of casting the principle of relativity in a Jewish mould. They will explain the Jewish associations in the development of this conception as due to sheer chance, or they will, after the fashion of a Jewish professor of philosophy, dismiss the matter impatiently with the remark: "What have the Jews to do with relativity? If they are interested in the theory, it is because they are always active in every new movement." This is an attitude which reminds us somewhat of the profound declaration that "not Homer wrote the Iliad but another man by the name of Homer."

If Michelson, Minkowski, Levi-Civita, and other Jews all had a hand with Einstein in the establishment of the great principle, only as a result of chance or coincidence, then the line between a coincidence and a miracle almost vanishes. In self-defense for broaching this delicate subject, I may call attention to the fact that the issue between the House of Israel and the principle of relativity has already been picturesquely and good-

humoredly brought up by a non-Jew. Perhaps this revelation will relieve my burden.

In *The Scientific Monthly* of July, 1926, Dr. Paul R. Heyl, of the National Bureau of Standards of the United States, vividly describes a number of experiments that were conducted to disprove the Einstein theory. He himself, in fact, confesses that his own crystal weighing experiments were "indeed undertaken by the experimenter in a spirit of definite skepticism regarding Einstein's theory, which appeared (to one who had learned his physics before the discovery of the X-rays) rather too bizarre and fantastic." But the negative result of the work placed the experimenter very much in the same position as that in which Balak, the king of the Moabites, found himself on a certain occasion. It requires a little self-effacement for the author to liken himself in this connection to Balak, although the analogy, to be complete, should have contained the name of Balaam instead of that of Balak.

Here, Dr. Heyl reproduces effectively the well-known story of Balak and Balaam (which after so many thousands of years still finds its way into the average Jew's daily idiom), and therewith ends his stimulating article.

"The land of Moab had been invaded by the host of Israel, as the sands of the sea in number.

A battle was impending and Balak was none too certain of the outcome. He felt that he needed moral support and ghostly counsel, and he sent messengers to Balaam, the soothsayer, saying: 'Come, curse me Jacob; come, defy me Israel.'

"It was a professional call, and Balaam came. Balak was glad to see him. He gave him presents; he showed him much honor; he took him up to a high place where he might see the host of Israel encamped on the plain below, and he waited impatiently for the soothsayer to speak.

"And Balaam spoke the words which the Lord put into his mouth; but Balak looked at him aghast, and said: 'What is this? I called thee to curse mine enemies, and lo! thou hast blessed them altogether!'"

This biblical allusion makes an excellent peroration, but that is not where the matter rests for us. We must go on further in our search. As psychologists, have we not a right to ask whether or not the gap between Newton and Einstein bespeaks the gulf between the Semite and the Aryan? Our search may be fruitless, but the question nevertheless suggests itself. Newton's mind could not conceive a space that was not absolute. Einstein was ready to deny even to time an absolute character, so that when Lorentz sug-

gested that the only way to reconcile the negative results of the Michelson-Morley experiment was to posit an artificial time side by side with a real time, Einstein was quick to perceive that *both times were real but relative to the observer.* Both he and Minkowski gave the most emphatic expression to the principle that space and time together go to make up a single continuum.

What, then, characterizes Einstein's type of thought? We know it was a bold step to take in the first place. While others were seeking to explain the experimental results with as little damage as possible to the existing conception of physics, Einstein dared to change the whole point of view and, on the basis of his speculation, built up a new system. It was no less an illustrious mathematician than the late Henri Poincaré who spoke enthusiastically about the originality of Einstein's mind and the thorough-goingness with which he followed his trend of thought to its ultimate conclusion.

I do not wish to claim that none but a Jew could have formulated the principle of relativity in its definite form. That were perilously near committing the fallacy of *post hoc ergo propter hoc,* or in a broader view, it would simply be a case of faulty generalization. But it is, I think, justifiable to hold that Einstein, being a

Jew, might have found it easier to cut himself loose from the absolutistic moorings of physical concepts than his Gentile colleagues.

The Jewish mind, it would seem from a survey of Jewish thought, is less susceptible to dogma, to rigid conventional discipline than, let us say, was the Greek mind. The latter always aimed at definition; and what is definition but setting a limit to a concept, laying down laws? In Jewish philosophy, from Philo to Spinoza, we find the dictum, *Omnis determinatio est negatio*—"Every determination is a negation," playing a prominent part. The Jews were not scholastic in the real sense of the term. Some of the medieval Jewish philosophers were, of course, influenced in their method by their non-Jewish contemporaries, but where in Maimonides, Ibn-Gabirol, Kreskas and Gersonides do we find the absolutistic method pursued by St. Thomas Aquinas, the prince of Roman Catholic philosophers?

The Jews, possibly because of their constitutional make-up, steered clear of the Scylla of absolutism and the Charybdis of nihilism (Gorgias in Greece and the Hindus in general). Even the most pessimistic of Jewish thinkers, Ecclesiastes, is, as the late Morris Jastrow called him, a gentle cynic, probably comparable in this respect with the great half-Jew, Montaigne. Out of such soil,

relativity can very well be expected as a product.

It is my belief that a theory, principle or even law, *must be in us first before we can discover it in nature.* Millions of people may have the same facts before them without seeing the unity to which they point. Is it not possible, then, that certain cultural groups are prone to make certain discoveries rather than others? Evolution as a theory may have been cultivated by German and French biologists and naturalists, but it was through Englishmen that the evidence reached its crystallized form.

Similarly, the principle of conservation of energy was rather a German product than a French discovery, although many Frenchmen worked along these lines.

We are all trained to see and interpret natural phenomena in much the same way, but there is always a *personal equation;* and it is my contention that the personal equation contains an unknown *national* quantity, which sets the world athinking.

In the development of the relativity theory, it is perhaps significant that the Jewish stamp is found at almost every turn. Were Einstein, alone of all Jewry, responsible for the vast physical transformation, the connection between relativity and the Jews could be regarded as wholly fortuitous, but where the names of Michelson, Levi-

Civita, Minkowski, Born, and Silberstein are all associated, in a more or less intimate way, with Einstein's achievement, one begins to feel that the " Elders of Zion " have unwittingly conspired to explain the world's most baffling phenomena, and apparently have met with success.

CHAPTER XIV

JEWS AS SCIENTIFIC EDITORS

MANY and loud have been the complaints among certain classes of individuals about the Jewish monopoly of the press in nearly every large city. While the lament is very much exaggerated, it is nevertheless true that there is scarcely a large and influential newspaper which has not a Jewish editor-in-chief, managing editor, or city editor at its helm. Even the chauvinistic newspapers, strange to say, engage Jewish writers, who, this time ironically enough, guard the Polish, Roumanian, or Hungarian interests against the "onslaught" of the Jews.

EDITORS OF NEWSPAPERS

To list all the Jewish newspapermen in the world would require a sizeable volume, and even then such a journalistic *Who's Who* must needs be selective. As publicists, Jews have displayed considerable talent, not because of their flair for propaganda, as the Jew-baiters seem to believe, nor because the "voice is the voice of Jacob,"

but rather by virtue of their style, breadth of view and universal grasp of things, together with an inexorable consistency which often brings them on the verge of ruination.

When one reflects that the Polish Jew, Max Witkowski, later known as Maximilian Harden, actually to some extent guided German destiny, through his fulminations in *Die Zukunft,* and that another Polish Jew, who was born a Finkelstein and subsequently became Jean Finot, through his journal *Revue des Revues,* (since changed by his son, Jean-Louis, into *La Revue Mondiale*), was in a more constructive spirit than his German *confrère,* able to mould French opinion, the thought must dawn upon one that the prophetic spark has not yet been extinguished among the people that produced the Isaiahs and Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Amos.

Again, however, we must digress from the general subject in order to retreat to a narrower phase, lest the field should prove altogether too vast for exploration at this time. It is my purpose to deal merely with the editors of scientific periodicals. The outcry about the Jewish domination of the press is preposterous enough when raised against editors of newspapers and publicists, but when heard in scientific circles, in connection with the founding and directing of tech-

nical reviews, it can hardly be the expression of a rational mind; for it is well known that such activities are extra-academic, require a great deal of patience, energy and even an expenditure of money, and, finally, call for unusual qualifications, while even the most successful of such enterprises yield no income for the founder nor do they assure any salary to the editor.

Such work is a labor of love. At most, it can be said that the editor reaps a certain amount of vainglory or derives a good deal of satisfaction in bringing to the light of day the lucubrations of others, and in guiding the policy of the journal.

Jewish Editors a Hundred Years Ago

With many thousands of periodicals appearing to-day, it is difficult to realize that a hundred years ago, monthly journals or quarterly reviews were comparatively rare. For a Jew to acquire so much influence as to edit a periodical in those days might be classed as a phenomenon, yet these phenomena occurred.

About 140 years ago, we find that meteoric philosopher, born in a small town in Poland, Salomon Maimon, co-editing with Karl Philipp Moritz the first psychological journal to have appeared anywhere, the *Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelen-*

kunde, with articles by Moses Mendelssohn and Markus Herz. Kant had been approached by Moritz and Maimon, who wanted him to contribute to the publication, but the great philosopher was too busily engaged in rounding out his own system. It is true that Moritz was the initiator of this journal, yet it was Maimon who lent it its practical atmosphere, particularly after his extraordinarily brilliant colleague had suffered a nervous breakdown. This magazine contains a program of applied psychology, drawn up by Maimon, which contemporary workers in this field would do well to consult.

Although it cannot be said that a Jew edited the first musical periodical, it is nevertheless true that one of the first reviews of this dynamic art was founded, in 1827, by the elder Schlesinger, one of Beethoven's publishers, and that Adolf Bernhard Marx was but twenty-six years old when he began to edit his *Allgemeine Berliner musikalische Zeitung.* Beethoven, who was anything but a kindly critic, especially of Jews,[1] wrote to Schlesinger, on receiving a copy of this youthful production, " . . . By chance a few leaves of it came into my hands, and I at once recognized its

[1] A. A. Roback: "Beethoven and His Jewish Friends," *American Hebrew,* April 27, 1923, vol. XLIV; and "The Jews Who Knew Beethoven," *Jewish Daily Eagle,* Jubilee Edition, 1927.

able editor, Herr Marx: I hope he will continue to reveal more and more the higher and true sphere of art, which would be of great advantage and might somewhat lessen the mere counting of syllables." In another note to Schlesinger, the Jupiter of music, whose every bar was being avidly seized upon by an expectant world, asks that young Marx be not too severe with him and let him have a way of escape. It was charitable of the great Beethoven, perhaps only playfully ironical, to express himself so amiably, but that Marx did exercise an influence in musical circles, because of his keen analysis, can scarcely be questioned.

Marx, although the first, was by no means the only Jew to edit a musical periodical. From 1870 to 1876, Hermann Mendel, who is better known by the monumental *Musikalisches Konversations-Lexikon* (in 11 volumes), which Riemann completed after Mendel's death, conducted the *Deutsche Musikerzeitung.*

One of the most influential, if not actually the most influential musical review of to-day, the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* was jointly founded in 1884 by Guido Adler, Professor of the History and Theory of Music at the University of Vienna. Adler has also been intrusted with the commission of editing for Austria

the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich,* which he has been engaged on since 1894. It so happens that the most important musical periodical in Germany, the *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* is conducted by Alfred Einstein, who at the same time, is editing anew Mendel's above-mentioned *Lexikon.*

Philosophy, Psychology and Kindred Subjects

To register every periodical that was edited by a Jew or list every Jew who directed the policy of a scientific periodical would be too tedious a task, and the material would make dreary reading. It will suffice for the present to select certain fields of knowledge as samples and also to dwell only on the most important periodicals.

It may be said at the outset that no branch of science is shunned by or shuns the Jews—at least science is not anti-Semitic—although we may note certain preferences. That the first psychological journal should have had a Jewish co-editor may be considered fortuitous from the point of view of psychology, but from another angle it is significant. For a long time after Maimon, it seemed, nevertheless, as if the Jews had abandoned nursing and nurturing philosophical schools

of thought; and although we must not forget that toward the middle of the last century, Moritz Lazarus and Khayim Steinthal founded their *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft,* which has had such a wide following in its day, it is only within the present generation that the Jews have found themselves again as disseminators of new conceptions through reviews and journals. Let us take a few instances:

In France, there are apart from the clerical and neo-scholastic reviews, no more than seven or eight reviews devoted, strictly speaking, to philosophy and psychology. Of these, the four most important are in Jewish hands. Lévy-Bruhl edits the *Revue Philosophique;* Xavier Léon is at the head of the *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale* and the *Bulletin de la Société Française de Philosophie;* and the *Journal de Psychologie* has for its editorial secretary, I. Meyerson, who factually conducts the publication.

There are many more philosophical and psychological periodicals published in the German language than in French; and naturally we cannot hope to have half of them edited by Jews, but here, too, the large percentage of Jewish editors is striking. Thus, *Logos* is edited by R. Kroner; the *Jahrbuch für Philosophie und phänomenologische Forschung,* by Edmund Husserl; and both

the *Archiv für systematische Philosophie und Soziologie* and the *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* were founded by Ludwig Stein (now editor of the *Vossische Zeitung*) who also brings out a series of philosophical monographs (*Bibliothek für Philosophie*). William Stern and Otto Lipmann founded the *Zeitschrift für angewandte Psychologie,* together with its series of supplementary monographs, and Wertheimer and Koffka (a Jew on the maternal side) have founded *Psychologische Forschung.* Adler's *Zeitschrift für Individualpsychologie* and his disciple V. Frankl's *Der Mensch im Alltag,* as well as Stekel's *Fortschritte der Sexualwissenschaft und Psychoanalyse,* are of course in the same category. Even the occult side of psychology is critically handled by a Jewish editor, Richard Baerwald, in his *Zeitschrift für kritischen Okkultismus und Grenzfragen des Seelenlebens.*

In the English-speaking countries, C. S. Myers was for a long time editor of the *British Journal of Psychology,* but after founding the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, he has taken charge of its Journal. It is curious that in the United States with its eighteen psychological periodicals, aside from philosophical journals, there is hardly more than one Jewish editor (S. W. Fernberger of the *Psychological Bulletin*) ; yet

we must not omit to say that S. A. Tannenbaum founded *Psyche and Eros* and *Clinical Psychology,* and was co-editor of the *Journal of Sexology and Psychanalysis.*

The psychoanalytic journals in Germany and Austria have practically always been directed by Jewish editors. As for esthetics, the Berlin psychologist Max Dessoir, son of the brilliant actor, Ludwig Dessoir, is the founder and editor of the *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft.*

The study of character is furthered by Emil Utitz, a Jew by race, through the *Jahrbuch der Charakterologie,* and in England by Bernard Hollander, through the *Ethological Journal.* Both have founded the periodicals which they are editing. In this connection, we may be reminded of *The Standard,* the organ of the American Ethical Union, which is a Jewish product, originated by Felix Adler.

Neurology and Psychiatry

Turning to the borderline between psychology and medicine, we note the same Judaic influence: the *Zeitschrift für Psychotherapie und medizinische Psychologie* was initiated by Albert Moll;

the *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft und Sexualpolitik* was originally founded by A. Eulenburg and Iwan Bloch, and is now edited by M. Marcuse; the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen,* similarly, was conducted by Magnus Hirschfeld. And as we approach the neurological and psychiatric spheres, we see more and more how these vital branches of medicine would have suffered if it were not for Jewish energy; for here let us record the services of Ludwig Meyer, co-founder, with the celebrated Griesinger and Westphal, of the important *Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten;* of K. Mendel and R. Hirschfeld in founding the *Zentralblatt für die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie,* and of H. de Rothschild, in France, co-founder of the *Archives de Neurologie.* Another Mendel (Emanuel) edited the *Neurologisches Zentralblatt* and the *Jahresbericht über Neurologie und Psychiatrie.*

H. Bernheim was one of the founders of the *Zeitschrift für Hypnotismus,* etc., at least he inspired its inception, while its first editor, and probably real initiator, was J. Grossmann.

M. Levi Bianchini, in Italy, is director of the *Archivio Generale di Neurologia, Psichiatria e Psicoanalisi,* which fact reminds us that the famous Cesare Lombroso founded the *Archivio di Antropologia Criminale, Psichiatria, e Medicina Legale.*

In General Science

There is one international review in science which draws its contributors from nearly all parts of the world. Contributors write in English, French, German, or Italian. This journal, *Scientia,* appears monthly in Milan, Italy, and has a truly international circulation. One would hardly suspect that its director, thanks to whose endeavors it has become so reputed a journal, is the Jewish philosopher and psychologist, Eugenio Rignano, known to English readers primarily for his books *The Psychology of Reasoning* and *Biological Memory* (International Library of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific Methods).

Another very influential review in general science is also published in Italy—*Archeion; Archivio di Storia della Scienza*—which should not surprise us, considering that Italy was the cradle of modern science, but we can hardly escape a certain degree of wonderment on being told that its editor, Aldo Mieli, is a Jew. It must be realized that Italy's Jewry constitutes but a tiny fraction of the whole population. Mieli is also director of the *Rassegna di Studi Sessuali e di Eugenica.* The connection between the history of science and sex problems is some-

what remote, but, I suppose, not for a versatile mind.

In Mathematics

Mathematics as an exact discipline, as well as the first and most abstract of sciences, has always been a favorite with Jews, since the Diaspora. Steinschneider has devoted a whole monograph to the listing of Jewish mathematicians during the Middle Ages. Had he brought his study up to date, the material would have bulked into a substantial volume. Within the last fifty years, the science of Pythagoras has been extended and deepened by Jewish brains making new discoveries in geometry, in algebra, in calculus, in variants, determinants, in tensor equations, and finally in the mathematics of relativity. It would not be feasible to state which Jews stand out as most original, most pioneering in this fundamental science, because so many have enriched the soil, and in their case, at least, the adage about comparisons being invidious sounds true.

It is really difficult to know where to begin in enumerating the most important mathematical periodicals which were edited by Jews. The *Journal für die reine und angewandte Mathematik* was for a long time edited by K. W. Bor-

chardt. J. L. Fuchs was editor and, at a later period, Moritz Cantor was co-editor of the *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik.* The latter also founded the *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der mathematischen Wissenschaften,* was co-editor, from 1859 to 1900, of the *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik,* and was among the founders of the *Jahresbericht der deutschen Mathematiker-Vereinigung,* which is now in the hands of L. Bieberbach, Otto Blumenthal and G. Faber.[1] W. Blaschke brings out the *Abhandlungen aus dem mathematischen Seminar der Hamburgischen Universität,* while Albert Einstein is co-director of the *Mathematische Annalen,* which is edited by Otto Blumenthal.

L. Lichtenstein, who originally came from Poland, not only edits the *Jahrbuch über die Fortschritte der Mathematik* but also the *Mathematische Zeitschrift,* of which I. Schur was co-editor. H. Hahn is co-editor of the *Monatshefte für Mathematik und Physik.* Hermann Blumenberg edits the *Allgemeine Vermessungs-Nachrichten,* and von Mises (whose mark of nobility is not disproof of his Jewishness) directs the *Zeitschrift für angewandte Mathematik und Mechanik.* F. Riesz is

[1] Faber, who has joined Bieberbach and Blumenthal only within the last two or three years, is probably not Jewish.

an editor of the *Acta Mathematica Universitatis Francisco Josephinæ,* and Julius Schuster [1] is director of the *Archiv für Geschichte der Mathematik der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik.*

The versatile Ludwig Grossmann founded both the *Mathematisch-physikalische Zeitschrift* [2] and *Die Controle,* an economic review. (See Wininger's *Grosse Jüdische National-Biographie*). On the other hand, Felix Klein, one of the founders of the *Mathematische Annalen,* although apparently regarded as a Jew by the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* was, I am assured indirectly by his Jewish colleagues in Göttingen, of non-Semitic stock.

In Italy, where the most distinguished mathematicians at present are Jews (V. Volterra, T. Levi-Civita, C. Segre, Gino Loria and F. Enriques, all in the line of the illustrious Luigi Cremona, the *ne plus ultra* geometrician of his day,) the *Annali di Mathematica* has the second and third of the group for editors; the fourth, Gino Loria, is director of the *Bolletino di Bibliografia e Storia delle Scienze Mathematiche;* while the *Periodico di Mathematiche* is being co-directed by Enriques.

[1] Of *his* Jewish parentage, I am not certain.

[2] Wininger, from whose work, cited below, I am taking the reference may have been mistaken about the name of the periodical, for I find none such listed. It may have been the *Physikalisch-chemisches Zentralblatt.*

Poland, the majority of whose mathematicians are Jews, has to thank Samuel Dickstein for a number of mathematical periodicals and other serials, inaugurated by this versatile and energetic scientist. Not only has he founded, together with Władysław Natanson, the *Prace Matematyczno-Fizyczne,* but has further established the *Wiadomości Matematyczne* and the *Bibliotheca Matematyczno-Fizyca,* not to mention his part in editing the large Polish general encyclopedia, *Wielka Encyklopedja Powszechna,* and other publications. It is rumored, too, that Wacław Sierpiński, co-editor of the *Fundamenta Mathematicae*, is partly Jewish.

In Hungary, there are very few outstanding mathematicians who are not Jews, the most illustrious of them being Julius König who, together with R. Eötvös, founded the *Mathematische und Naturwissenschaftliche Berichte aus Ungarn.* Another mathematician of note is Izidor Fröhlich, a member of the Hungarian Academy, who edits the *Matematikai és Termeszettudományi Értesitő* ("Mathematical and Physical Index").

In Copenhagen, Harald Bohr, the younger brother of Neils Bohr, (*q. v.* in the chapter on "The Jews and the Nobel Prize"), is co-editor of *Matematisk Tidsskrift.*

France has comparatively fewer Jewish mathe-

maticians than other countries of like culture, and I know of only one Jewish founder of a mathematical periodical in France, and that is Isaac Auguste Blum, who directed the *Bulletin Polytechnique,* from 1844 till his death in 1877, and edited his daily (?) journal *La Science,* which was devoted mainly to mathematics. Yet Paul Lévy, as president of the French Mathematical Society, would naturally *ex officio* govern the policy of the *Bulletin de la Société Mathématique de France,* while E. Cahen and J. Hadamard, the brother-in-law of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, have had some connection at various times with the most important mathematical journals in France.

In Holland, two or three Jews, but particularly Teixeira De Mattos (from Portugal) have been prominent in connection with publications like the *Revue Semestrielle des Publications Mathématiques,* but so far as I could discover, they were not officially known as editors.

In America, B. F. Finkel (who, judging by the name, is of Semitic descent), was the organizer, in 1894, of the *American Mathematical Monthly.* E. Kasner is an editor of the *Transactions of the American Mathematical Society;* A. Dresden is co-editor of the *Bulletin of the American Mathematical Society;* W. A. Hurwitz was editor of the *American Mathematical Monthly,* 1919-1922, and

of the *Bulletin of the American Mathematical Society,* 1921-1924; while Abraham Cohen is an editor of the *American Journal of Mathematics;* and if we were to include associate editors, the list would be much longer. Thus, we see how the Jews in America have carried on the traditional activity in this branch of science. Here, at any rate, they have advanced beyond the mark of their British brethren. Certainly the list is far from exhaustive, but we must proceed to other fields.

Considering the mathematical strength of the Jews, it is small wonder that the *Scripta Mathematica et Physica* (volume I) of the Hebrew University and Library of Jerusalem (directed by Albert Einstein) shows an excellence which has probably never been paralleled; for here are brought together a galaxy of men, each of whose writings would do honor to any publication; and the fact that perhaps none of them have written their papers originally in Hebrew does not invalidate the national status of the volume, especially as each of the papers appears in Hebrew translation. The collection of *Scripta* is a unique phenomenon because of the international canopy which overspreads a group of scientists with a like national *sub*consciousness, dormant though it may have been for a generation.

Physical Sciences

There will appear a number of gaps in this group of sciences, but let them not be attributed to the objective situation. Perhaps it is true that the Jewish votaries of physics and chemistry are too much absorbed in their laboratory experiments to permit them to give their attention to editing periodicals, yet we find that two Nobel Prize men, Otto Wallach and Richard Willstätter, have been editing the most respected chemical review in Germany, at any rate, if not in the world —the *Annalen der Chemie,* while the same Willstätter and another Jewish Nobel laureate, Fritz Haber, are among the six editors of the *Berichte der deutschen Chemie.*

Sometimes we suspect that those who would belittle the activities of the Jews might say that editing a journal is on a lower plane than conducting experiments, that only such as are incapable of obtaining satisfactory results in their capacity as investigators would find a certain amount of compensation in editing the brilliant records of others. But the twofold efficiency of a Wallach, Willstätter, and Haber is enough to expose the prejudice underlying the altogether too patent tendency of the captious critic.

Although I can mention only one astronomer

who has edited a technical, periodical *viz.,* Maurice Loewy, director of the Paris Observatory, and founder of the *Ephemérides des Étoiles de Culmination Lunaire,* the deficiency is my own, for I am not acquainted with the editorial endeavors of contemporary Jewish astronomers. Coming down to earth again, we find that I. G. Friedländer is the founder of the *Zeitschrift für Vulkanologie* and Adolf Markuse is co-editor of the *Geographisches Jahrbuch.*

The *Journal of Biological Chemistry,* in this country, has for one of its editors Lafayette B. Mendel. Michael Altschul was co-editor of the periodical *Acetylen in Wissenschaft und Industrie,* and edited both the *Zeitschrift für komprimirte und flüssige Gase* and the *Jahrbuch für Acetylen und Carbid.*

Natural Sciences

The natural sciences will, for our purpose, include physiology, botany, zoology, biology and embryology. Let us first of all recall that Paul Sorauer was editor of the *Zeitschrift für Pflanzenkrankheiten,* Eduard Strasburger, for a time, directed the *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Botanik,* Immanuel Munk was editor of the *Zentralblatt für Physiologie,* F. Cohn founded the

Beiträge zur Biologie des Pflanzen and that Jacques Loeb, in the United States, was the first editor of the *Journal of Physiology,* for many years guiding its policy. The *Ergebnisse der Physiologie,* in Switzerland, was founded by Leon Asher, and is edited by him and K. Spiro. Spiro is also co-founder of the *Jahresbericht über die gesamte Physiologie und experimentelle Pharmakologie.* The Groningen physiologist, H. J. Hamburger, was in conjunction with the Dutch Nobel laureate, Einthoven, the founder of the *Archives Néerlandaises de Physiologie de l'Homme et des Animaux.* It was Henri de Rothschild who founded the *Revue de Zootechnie,* in France.

J. J. Liberman, in Russia, conducts the *Mikrobiologicheskiĭ Zhurnal;* and if Carlo Foà is any relative to the famous Italian pathologist, the late Senator Pio Foà, then we should record that he edits the *Giornale di Biologia e Medicina Sperimentale.* Uncertainty, of a similar nature, makes me hesitate to mention that Alessandro Lustig is editor of the biological journal, *Lo Sperimentale* (Florence).

It is a pity that the very promising *Internationale Zeitschrift für physikalisch-chemische Biologie,* which was founded and edited by Isidore Traube in the unpropitious year 1914, had to be discontinued as the conditions in Germany became

less and less tolerable for publications that had not been fully established.

Undoubtedly, a number of editorial incumbencies by Jews have escaped my notice, and some journals may come under the rubric of medicine, which has been the field most cultivated by Jews for many centuries.

The Medical Sciences

In recording the periodicals founded or edited by Jews in the domain of medicine, it will be expedient to draw up a table. So extensive is the list. The table, again, will necessarily be incomplete, but we shall be able to obtain an idea of the great endeavors of many Jewish physicians in the interest of science when we run our eye down the column of publications.

It must be borne in mind, too, that a number of the medical periodicals have already been dealt with under the head of psychiatry and neurology, and will therefore be eliminated in the following table.

MEDICAL PERIODICALS

Editor or Founder		*Periodical*
L. Asher	Founder	*Endokrinologie*
H. Auspitz	Founder	*Archiv für Dermatologie und Syphilis*
M. I. Averbach	Editor	*Arkhiv Ophtalmologiĭ*
A. Baginsky	Co-founder	*Archiv für Kinderkrankheiten*
H. von Bamberger	Co-founder	*Wiener klinische Wochenschrift*
F. J. Behrend	Co-founder	*Archiv für Syphilis und Hautkrankheiten*
R. Berlin	Co-founder	*Zeitschrift für Augenheilkunde*
A. Blaschko	Co-founder	*Zeitschrift zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten*
L. v. H. Blumenstock[1]	Editor	*Przegląd Lekarski* ("Medical Review"—in Polish)
F. Blumenthal	Co-founder	*Medizinische Klinik*
I. Boas	Founder	*Archiv für Verdauungskrankheiten*
I. L. Braude	An Editor	*Ginekologia i Akusherstvo* (in Russian)
L. Bregman	An Editor	*Neurologia Polska*
S. A. Brunshtein	Editor	*Zhurnal dlia Usovershenstvovania Vrachey* (in Russian)

[1] After becoming a baron, Blumenstock promptly dropped his Teuto-Judaic surname and was called "von Halban."

Editor or Founder		*Periodical*
K. F. Canstatt	Founder	*Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der gesamten Medizin aller Länder*
L. Casper	Co-editor	*Zeitschrift für Urologie*
B. Chajes	Co-director	*Zeitschrift für Schulgesundheitspflege und soziale Hygiene*
H. M. Cohen	Editor	*British Journal of Anæsthesia*
J. da Silva Solis Cohen	An Editor	*Archives of Laryngology*
Levi Ali Cohen	Founder and Editor	*Het Repertorium*
		Nieuw practisch Tijdschrift voor de Geneeskunde
		Nieuw statistisch geneeskundig Jaarboekje voor het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden
	Co-editor	*Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde*
S. da Silva Solis Cohen	An Editor	*American Medicine*
	Editor	*Philadelphia Polyclinic*
P. Ehrlich	Co-founder	*Zeitschrift für Chemotherapie und verwandte Gebiete*
Louis Elsberg	Founder	*Archives of Laryngology*
A. Epstein	Founder	*Jahrbuch für Kinderkrankheiten*
A. Eulenburg	Editor	*Deutsche medizinische Wochenschrift*
	Founder	*Enzyklopädische Jahrbücher der gesamten Heilkunde*

Editor or Founder		*Periodical*
H. Finkelstein	Founder	*Zentralblatt für die gesamte Kinderheilkunde*
	Editor	*Zeitschrift für Kinderheilkunde*
M. Fishbein	Editor	*Journal of the American Medical Association*
S. Flexner	An Editor	*Journal of Experimental Medicine*
Mortimer Frank	Editor	*Bulletin of the Chicago Society of Medical History*
B. Fränkel	Director	*Archiv für Laryngologie und Rhinologie*
Eugen Fraenkel	Founder	*Fortschritte auf dem Gebiet der Röntgenstrahlen*
E. Friedberger	Co-director	*Zeitschrift für Immunitätsforschung und experimentelle Therapie*
F. Friedeberger	Co-founder	*Ose-Rundschau*
K. Goldstein	Co-editor	*Deutsche Zeitschrift für Nervenheilkunde*
M. A. Goldstein	Editor	*The Laryngoscope*
D. Gourfein	Editor	*Revue générale d'Ophthalmologie*
J. Grosser	Founder	*Deutsche Medizinal-Zeitung*
J. Gruber	Co-founder	*Monatsschrift für Ohrenheilkunde und Laryngo-Rhinologie*
S. Guttmann	Co-editor	*Deutsche medizinische Wochenschrift*
Isaac Hayes	Editor (1827–1879)	*Journal of Medical Sciences*
I. M. Hayes	Editor (1879–1890)	*Journal of Medical Sciences*

Editor or Founder		*Periodical*
J. Hirschberg	Editor (1877–1914)	*Zentralblatt für praktische Augenheilkunde*
A. Hirsch	Co-director	*Jahresbericht über die Leistungen und Fortschritte in der gesamten Medizin*
M. Hirsch	Editor	*Archiv für Frauenkunde Eugenetik, Sexualbiologie und Vererbungslehre*
	Founder	*Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Bäderkunde*
B. Hirschel	Founder	*Zeitschrift für homöopathische Klinik*
Hans Hirschfeld	Co-founder	*Folia Haematologica*
L. Hirszfeld	Director	*Medycyna Doświadczalna i Społeczna* (in Polish)
J. Homberger	Founder	*American Journal of Ophthalmology*
J. Israel	Founder	*Folia Urologica*
J. Jadassohn	Editor	*Archiv für Dermatologie und Syphilis*
	Co-editor	*Zentralblatt für Haut- und Geschlechtskrankheiten*
K. Jaffé	Co-founder	*Monatsschrift für soziale Medizin*
G. Joachimsthal	Co-founder	*Zentralblatt für chirurgische und mechanische Orthopädie*
E. H. Kisch	Editor	*Allgemeine Balneologische Zeitung*
	Editor	*Jahrbücher für Balneologie*
E. Krackowizer	Co-founder	*New York Medizinische Monatsschrift*

Editor or Founder		*Periodical*
S. Krenberger	Editor	*Levana*
A. Kronfeld	Founder	*Die tägliche Praxis*
	Editor	*Wiener medizinische Wochenschrift*
R. Kutner	Editor	*Zeitschrift für ärztliche Fortbildung*
O. Lassar	Founder	*Dermatologische Zeitschrift*
O. E. Lesser	Co-founder	*Zeitschrift zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten*
Lajos Lévy	Editor	*Gyógyászat* ("Therapy"—the most important medical periodical in Hungary)
M. M. Levy	Editor	*Journal for Medicin og Chirurgie* (in Danish)
Lévy-Bing	Editor	*Annales des Maladies Vénériennes*
R. Liebreich	Co-founder	*Therapeutische Monatshefte*
H. W. Loeb	Editor	*Annals of Otology, Rhinology and Laryngology*
M. Marcuse	Co-editor	*Aerztliche Sachverständigen-Zeitung*
M. Mendelsohn	Co-editor	*Deutsche Ärzte-Zeitung*
S. Moos	Co-founder	*Zeitschrift für Ohrenheilkunde und für die Krankheiten der Luftwege*
A. Neisser	Co-editor	*Archiv für Dermatologie und Syphilis*
E. Olschwanger	Editor	*Ose-Rundschau*

Editor or Founder		*Periodical*
D. L. M. Peixotto	Editor	*Medical and Physical Journal*
P. J. Pick	Co-founder	*Archiv für Dermatologie*
F. Pincus	Founder	*Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten*
C. Posner	Editor	*Berliner klinische Wochenschrift*
	Co-editor	*Verhandlungen der Berliner medizinischen Gesellschaft*
	Co-editor	*Jahresbericht über die Leistungen und Fortschritte der gesamten Medizin*
Lydia Rabinowitsch	Editor	*Zeitschrift für Tuberkulose*
G. W. Raiziss	Co-editor	*Journal of Chemotherapy*
J. Rosenthal	Co-editor	*Zentralblatt für die medizinischen Wissenschaften*
J. J. Sachs	Founder	*Allgemeine medizinische Zentral-Zeitung*
	Founder	*Medizinischer Almanach*
	Founder	*Repertorisches Jahrbuch für die Leistungen der gesamten Heilkunde*
E. D. Sarason	Founder	*Jahreskurse für ärztliche Fortbildung*
M. Schiff	An Editor	*Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Heilkunde*
H. Schlesinger	Co-founder	*Zentralblatt für die Grenze der Medizin und Chirurgie*

Editor or Founder		*Periodical*
W. Schlesinger	Editor	*Wiener medizinische Blätter*
J. Schnitzler[1]	Co-founder	*Wiener Klinik*
	Founder	*Wiener medizinische Presse*
H. Stern	Founder	*Archives of Diagnosis*[2]
E. Schuster	Editor	*Medical Science*
G. Schwalbe	Editor	*Jahresberichte für Anatomie und Entwicklungsgeschichte*
	Founder	*Morphologische Arbeiten*
	Editor	*Zeitschrift für Morphologie*
Seligmann	Co-founder	*Zeitschrift für Desinfektions- und Gesundheitswesen*
F. Semon	Founder	*International Journal of Laryngology and Rhinology*
	Co-founder	*Internationales Zentralblatt für Laryngologie, Rhinologie und verwandte Wissenschaften*
H. Senator	Editor	*Zentralblatt für die medizinische Wissenschaft*
E. Simmel	Co-founder	*Der sozialistische Arzt*
R. Weil	Founder	*Journal of Cancer Research*

[1] The father of the famous novelist and playwright, Arthur Schnitzler.

[2] One of the best medical periodicals in the country, it carried no advertisements, and was operated at a loss to its founder.

Editor or Founder		*Periodical*
Emil Steinschneider	Editor	*Zeitschrift für Stomatologie*
A. Wassermann	Co-founder	*Zeitschrift für Chemotherapie und verwandte Gebiete*
W. Winternitz	Editor	*Blätter für klinische Hydrotherapie*
M. A. Wessely[1]	Co-founder	*Neue Zeitung für Medizin*
	Editor	*Medizinal-Reform*

If the list reads like a directory of physicians, we must not be surprised. But we may derive more uses than one from this register of names. In the first place, the Jewish physicians have covered practically every branch of medicine in their periodicals, but it is also evident that more interest was evinced in the genito-urinary diseases than in other fields of organic medicine. The skin diseases (including syphilis) have received special attention, and it is indisputably true that the services of half a dozen Jewish authorities in this department (Neisser, Wassermann,[2] Auspitz, Behrend, Ehrlich, Blaschko, Lassar and Kaposi) have outweighed those of most of their non-Jewish colleagues. Let us bear in mind, however (to forestall innuendo), that we are discussing Jewish physicians, not patients, in this inquiry.

[1] A nephew of Mendelssohn's co-adjutor in the Enlightenment Movement of the Jews.

[2] Wassermann and Ehrlich are, of course, primarily not syphilologists.

Next to the skin diseases and nervous disorders, Jewish physicians have done their most important work in ophthalmology, *i. e.*, the department of medicine which deals with the eye.

The supplementary list given below is of editors who are *probably* Jews, but whose names I could not find in any reference work that would confirm my conjecture. Biographers and encyclopedists will, at least, have before them the material to accept or reject on investigation. The names to which an asterisk is affixed are less likely to be those of Jews.

FOUNDERS OR EDITORS *PROBABLY* OF SEMITIC ORIGIN

Editor or Founder		*Periodical*
A. Ascoli*	Editor	*Biochemia e Terapia*
V. Ascoli*	Editor	*Sperimentale* *Il Policlinico*
	Director	*Cuore e Circolazione*
Th. Axenfeld	Editor	*Klinische Monatsblätter für Augenheilkunde*
F. Bachmann	Founder	*Der gesunde Mensch*
G. Ballin	Editor	*Zentralblatt für die gesamte Tuberkuloseforschung*
C. Behr	Editor	*Zeitschrift für Augenheilkunde*
P. Bergell	Founder	*Zeitschrift für medizinische Chemie*
A. Birch-Hirschfeld	Co-director	*Zeitschrift für Augenheilkunde*

Editor or Founder		*Periodical*
F. Blumenfeld	Editor	*Zeitschrift für Laryngologie, Rhinologie und ihre Grenzgebiete* (original section of the *Folia Oto-Laryngologica*)
K. Bornstein	Founder	*Blätter für Volksgesundheitspflege*
K. Brandenburg	Editor	*Medizinische Klinik*
J. Bresler	Editor	*Psychiatrisch-neurologische Wochenschrift*
V. M. Bronner	Editor	*Venerologia i Dermatologia* (in Russian)
J. Cemach	Editor	*Die extrapulmonale Tuberkulose*
C. Daniel	Editor	*Gynecologie şi Obstetrica* (in Roumanian)
B. Fischer	Founder	*Frankfurter Zeitschrift für Pathologie*
E. Fischer*	Editor	*Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie*
C. Fraenkel	An Editor	*Hygienische Rundschau*
O. Frankl	Founder	*Gynäkologische Rundschau*
C. Friedländer	Founder	*Fortschritte der Medizin*
M. Fürst	Co-founder	*Monatsschrift für soziale Medizin*
A. E. Graetzer	Founder	*Excerpta Medica*
Samuel D. Gross S. W. Gross	Co-editors	*North American medico-Chirurgical Review*
Z. Grudzinsky*	Editor	*Polski Przegląd Radjologiczny*
M. Hahn	Co-director	*Zeitschrift für Hygiene und Infektionskrankheiten*

Editor or Founder		*Periodical*
R. Hirschfeld	Founder	*Jahresbericht über die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie*
E. Hoffmann	Director	*Dermatologische Zeitschrift*
G. Honigmann	Editor	*Zeitschrift für praktische Ärzte*
	Founder	*Hippokrates*
M. Isserlin	Editor	*Zeitschrift für Kinderforschung*
Jacobi	Co-editor	*Allgemeine medizinische Zentral-Zeitung*
S. Jacoby	Founder	*Jahresbericht über die Leistungen und Fortschritte auf dem Gebiete der Erkrankungen des Urogenitalapparates*
	Editor	*Urologischer Jahresbericht*
W. Janowski	Editor	*Polskie Archiwum Medycyny* (in Polish)
H. Joachim	Editor	*Gross-Berliner Ärzteblatt*
M. Joseph	Founder	*Dermatologisches Zentralblatt*
F. Kasper	Editor	*Volksgesundheit*
B. Kisch	Co-director	*Zeitschrift für Kreislaufsforschung*
Klein	Editor	*Mitteilungen der Ärztekammer für die Provinz Hessen-Nassau*
K. Kuhnt*	Editor	*Zeitschrift für praktische Augenheilkunde*
[J.?] Lazarus	Co-editor	*Norddeutsches Ärzteblatt*
M. Lewandowsky	Co-founder	*Zeitschrift für die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie*

Editor or Founder		*Periodical*
J. A. Lipiner	Editor	*Mitteilungen der Wirtschaftlichen Organisation der Ärzte Wiens*
F. Lippmann	Editor	*Aerztliche Sachverständigen-Zeitung*
H. Magnus	Co-founder	*Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Medizin*
H. Marschik*	Editor	*Monatsschrift für Ohrenheilkunde und Laryngo-Rhinologie*
G. Maschke	Founder	*Ärztlicher Wegweiser*
M. Maschke	Editor	*Ärztlicher Wegweiser*
[F. ?] Michelson	Founder	*Die Tuberkulose*
F. Michelson	Editor	*Immunität, Allergie und Infektionskrankheiten*
	Founder	*Berliner Klinik*
Gr. Michelson	Founder	*Ärztliche Rundschau*
Joseph L. Miller	Editor	*Archives of Internal Medicine*
B. Morpurgo	Editor	*Archivio per le Scienze Mediche*
F. Neufeld	Co-director	*Zeitschrift für Hygiene und Infektionskrankheiten*
S. Ottolenghi	Editor	*Zacchia* (Italian medico-legal journal)
M. Rubner	Co-founder	*Zentralblatt für die gesamte Hygiene und ihre Grenzgebiete*
J. Schaffran	Co-editor	*Der Amtarzt*
O. M. Schloss	An Editor	*American Journal of Nervous Diseases*
A. Schlossman	Co-editor	*Archiv für Kinderheilkunde*

Editor or Founder		*Periodical*
Julius Schwalbe	Editor	*Deutsche medizinische Wochenschrift*
		Fortschritte der Krankenpflege
		Reichsmedizinalkalendar
		Jahrbuch der praktischen Medizin
	Co-editor	*Revista Medica Germano-Ibero-Americana*
M. Segale	Director	*Pathologica* (Italian)
F. Shamberger	Co-director	*Česká Dermatologie*
J. Tandler	Co-director	*Zeitschrift für die gesamte Anatomie*
E. H. Volwiler	Co-editor	*Journal of Chemotherapy*
Erik Warburg	Co-editor	*Hospitalstidende* (Danish)
Wessely	Editor	*Archiv für Augenheilkunde*
M. Winckel	Editor	*Die Volksernährung*
J. L. Wortmann	Editor	*Het Ziekenhuis* (Dutch)

Undoubtedly several of those enumerated are not Jews, but we may safely assume that the majority are of the race of Maimonides, and could be placed in the former list.

But we must call a halt here. The array of names is impressive enough to persuade even the most negative individuals that the Jews have, so to speak, internationalized medicine, that Jewish physicians have given of their precious time to the cause of medical advancement through the dissemination of new ideas. Those who have looked

upon the Jewish physician as mercenary or professional, in the materialistic sense, will have to revise their opinion in the light of the data here presented. Nor are we to understand that the editors of the medical journals were merely ordinary practitioners. Men like Schwalbe, Senator, Neisser, Hirschberg and Eulenburg were pillars, each in his own field, and had attracted students from all parts of the world to their courses. Moreover, they were not merely figureheads, allowing their names to be used on the title pages of the journals for the sake of lending prestige to the periodical. Some of them actually initiated the publication, attending to the organization of the staff and perhaps even assuming a certain amount of financial responsibility. The editor of a periodical that had already been established, of course, has his task much lightened, while where there are two or several editors, the work is still less for each, hence in our table the amount of responsibility was to a certain extent indicated by stating whether the physician listed was a founder, co-founder, editor, co-editor, or an editor (one of three or four editors).

There are other conclusions we may come to from our study. First, that medicine has been and will probably remain for all time the scientific field that the Jews have most cultivated. Their

share in the founding and editing of periodicals is only added proof, not the only one, of this fact. In the second place, as may be expected, Jewish physicians have shown their greatest ardor in that branch of therapy lying between the mental and the organic. Neurology and psychiatry have been the special stronghold of the Jewish medical profession. This could have been predicted on the principle of wave accumulation. Inasmuch as the Jewish mind has shown a special proclivity for the philosophical, including the psychological, disciplines and a decided leaning in the direction of medicine, then naturally the territory where medicine touches the boundary of philosophy and psychology will receive the impetus of the combined interest.

It is obvious, too, from our table that German and Austrian Jewry has produced the most energetic and most capable editors of medical periodicals. In England one can scarcely find a Jewish name on a medical review. The Jewish physicians in America, while not in a position to compete, in this respect, with their race-fellows in the Teutonic countries, are nevertheless making fair headway as medical editors, although as yet they have not contributed their quota of editors, and still less of founders. For all that, it will be noted that more than a century ago, Isaac Hayes

was one of the editors of the *Journal of Medical Sciences,* and for two generations this periodical was conducted by father and son, until it began to be referred to by the medical profession as the "Hayes Journal."

Offhand, I should say that Jews have furnished so far approximately a score of editors and a dozen founders of medical periodicals in the United States.

Social Sciences

In this and the following sections, I shall have to limit myself to the most important periodicals so as not to draw this chapter out into a book.

Beginning with what is, by all odds, the most important sociological serial, *L'Année Sociologique,* we need not go far to discover that its founder was a Jew, Émile Durkheim, undeniably the greatest sociologist France has produced, not excluding Comte. When Durkheim died, it was a Jew again, his pupil and friend, Marcel Mauss, who took charge of the periodical and of the monographs that were published along with it. René Worms, another illustrious name in social philosophy and sociology, is to be cited in connection with the publication of an excellent series of monographs, the *Bibliothèque Sociologique Internationale.*

ÉMILE DURKHEIM
(1858–1917)

Such an important publication as the *Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques,* in other words, the Proceedings of the Academy of Moral and Political Science in France is issued under the supervision of Ch. Lyon-Caen, who is permanent secretary of the Academy.

On a strictly racial basis, it would be proper to include here Eugène D'Eichthal's *Revue des Sciences Politiques,* for although D'Eichthal's father, Gustave, was baptized at the age of thirteen, the son's blood nevertheless could not have been changed by the holy water which had been administered to his father.

Let us not, however, become involved in a controversy. When there is plenty, it is easy to be magnanimous.

Before we leave France, we must advert to the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne,* for the conduct of which Léon Cahen is largely responsible, while Henri Berr is director of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique,* one of the best periodicals, of a cultural nature, in Europe. The *Revue d'Histoire de la Guerre Mondiale* is directed by Camille Bloch.

What is probably the most important Polish historical periodical, the *Przegląd Historyczny,* is co-edited by M. Handelsmann; and, in Hun-

gary, David Angyal edits the *Történeti Szemle* ("Historical Review"). The *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft* was co-edited by F. Abraham (which, I believe, is, in Germany and Austria, an exclusively Jewish name). It is worth while noting the dearth of editors of historical periodicals in German Jewry.

Just as Mauss edited the French sociological yearbook, so G. Salomon, who is associate editor of Ludwig Stein's philosophical reviews, mentioned earlier, edits, on his own account, the *Jahrbuch für Soziologie. Ethos,* a quarterly for sociology, historiosophy and cultural philosophy, was founded in 1925 by O. Koigen and F. Schneerson, together with the non-Jew, F. Hilker. This review was discontinued shortly after.

The *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik,* the weightiest review of the kind, was founded by Edgar Jaffe, in conjunction with Werner Sombart and Max Weber. The two latter are not Jews, although Sombart, at least, has created a new theory in regard to the Jews (see his bulky volume *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* translated into English as *The Jews and Modern Capitalism*).

Social ethics in its concrete phase is represented in Italy by Ettore Levi's *Difesa Sociale.*

It is my impression too that Georg Brodnitz,

of Halle, editor of the *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft,* is of the seed of Abraham. In this country, E. R. A. Seligman, the Columbia economist, has been in charge of *Political Science Quarterly;* and although the editing of encyclopedias, lexicons, dictionaries, etc., does not come within the scope of the present essay, I cannot resist introducing the irrelevant remark that the forthcoming *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* which will contain at least eight million words, has for its editor-in-chief the same distinguished economist, thanks to whose endeavors this gigantic work is being brought under way.

In addition, C. Grünberg brings out the *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung,* F. Rathenau was editor of *Recht und Wirtschaft,* H. Reinach is the founder of *Steuer und Wirtschaft,* I. Jastrow after editing, from 1881 to 1894, the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft,* was co-founder of *Soziale Praxis* and *Das Gewerbegericht* and, from 1897 to 1913, directed *Der Arbeitsmarkt.* Among the problematic cases, which may not belong in this chapter, let us record the names of W. Exner, among the founders of the *Weltwirtschaftszeitung,* of K. Frankenstein, founder of the *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Versicherungswissenschaft* of E. Kaufmann, among

the founders of the *Bonner, Staatswissenschaftliche Untersuchungen,* and of R. Ehrenberg editor of the *Archiv für exakte Wirtschaftsforschung.*

Political science often merges into economics, so that it would be in order to survey the political economy periodicals that were born or reared through Jewish energy. The number of these does not seem to be great, but they are, at least, representative and are not confined to one or two countries.

In France, Ignaz Einhorn, under his pseudonym J. E[douard] Horn, founded, in 1859, his *Annuaire International du Crédit Public;* and ten years later Alfred Neymarck founded *La Rentier,* which he managed and edited for more than a generation. The Russian-Jewish economist, Arthur Raffalovich, published his *L'Année Financière* in the '90's, while about the same time Samuel Cohn, in Germany, edited the *Oekonomist.* The Czechoslovakian periodical *Obzor národohospodářsky* ("Economic Review") is edited by Josef Gruber, and Lucien Klotz, former French minister of finance, is director of *Le Moniteur de l'Exploration et La Revue Artistique, Réunis* (an unusual consolidation). In England, E. Lipson is at present co-editor of the *Economic History Review,* while H. J. Laski is co-editor of *Economica.* In Denmark,

Einar Cohn, is editor of the *Nationaløkonomisk Tidsskrift;* and in the United States, J. Viner is co-editor of the *Journal of Political Economy.*

Cultural Sciences (Linguistics, Anthropology)

It is in the cultural sciences, next after medicine and mathematics, that the Jews have found their sphere of editorial activity. Archæology, especially, has been favored in this respect. For nearly twenty years, Théodore Reinach, who died within the last year, directed the *Revue des Études Grecques,* which he gradually expanded by adding one department (really a separate bulletin) after another; and when he retired from his arduous duties, his mantle fell on another Jew, Gustave Glotz. Théodore's brother, Salomon Reinach, the foremost living archæologist, is editor of the *Revue Archéologique* and chief of the editorial committee of the *Journal des Savants,* published under the auspices of the Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles-Lettres.

Perhaps more surprising is the circumstance that the editor-in-chief of the most academic periodical in the world, the *Göttingensche gelehrte Anzeigen*—the same review which nearly 150 years ago (1782) severely criticized *The Critique*

of Pure Reason and so piqued the mighty Kant as to provoke a rejoinder, in the form of an appendix to his *Prolegomena,* is edited by Johann Joachim, son of the greatest violinist since Paganini, Joseph Joachim, and the celebrated singer Amalie Schneeweiss (Weiss).

It is a far cry from Göttingen to Buenos Aires. In neither city should we expect Jews to be at the helm of academic enterprises, yet in Argentine, the brilliant historian and authority on law, Ricardo Levene, edits the series of La Plata University publications called *Humanidades* (the Humanities). The palæontologist, Bruno Ehrlich of Elbing, is the editor of the *Elbinger Jahrbuch* and the *Elbinger Heimatbücher.*

One of the landmarks in the cultural progress of the German Jews is fixed by the activity of the two Geigers, Abraham, the father, and Ludwig, the son. These two pillars of Jewish learning embodied in their persons the essence of the Mendelssohnian era. Abraham may be looked upon as the actual inaugurator of the Reform movement among the Jews; and his son, who has been dead ten years, was up to the very last, a dynamic force in the intellectual life of Germany. No fewer than nine or ten periodicals were founded by these two disseminators of knowledge and knights of the mind.

Abraham Geiger's periodicals were all devoted to the problems of Judaism and the Jews, but Ludwig, although maintaining his father's prestige in the Berlin Jewish community, had taken a secular road to fame.

Since we are concerned here with periodicals only, there would be no point in enumerating the scores of books that Ludwig Geiger wrote or edited. The serials of which he took charge comprise the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Kultur und Litteratur der Renaissance*, the *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland,* and with M. Koch, the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte und Renaissance-Litteratur.*

He was also co-founder of the *Berliner Neudrucke,* and originator of the *Goethe-Jahrbuch,* which he projected exactly half a century ago, and the circumstances of which reveal an episode of telling significance.

It was in 1880 that Geiger began to publish the *Goethe-Jahrbuch,* attracting a number of the finest writers in Germany as contributors. Archives were discovered, letters were unearthed, and even manuscripts, that the greatest German of many centuries had penned; and all were brought to light through the medium of this periodical, that is to say, through the initiative of the energetic Geiger. Meanwhile a Goethe Society had

formed, and, in 1887, the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* had become the organ of the *Goethe-Gesellschaft*. The annual was growing in importance, and all went well until 1913, when the Goethe Society decided to bring out a journal of its own. Geiger's publisher was not disposed to compete with the influential body of men represented by the *Goethe-Gesellschaft*. Just as Geiger was about to issue the thirty-fifth volume of his periodical, he received a letter from the president and administration of the *Goethe-Gesellschaft* telling him of the decision. In a farewell notice to his readers and contributors who had supported him for a full generation, Geiger printed the letter, which speaks in a rather formal tone to the man who had set up a *dynamic* monument to the memory of Goethe. There is, to be sure, an expression of thanks, somewhat stiffly worded, with all the earmarks of a grudging gesture. "We are under obligation" (*es ist uns ein Bedürfnis*), says this note, "to express our kindest thanks (*verbindlichsten Dank*) for your meritorious endeavors as editor of the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*."

Geiger did not reply, did not remonstrate. Not a word of comment is contained in his valedictory to his readers. An eloquent silence and complete withdrawal from the Goethe temple lent an added halo to this venerable priest at the Teutonic shrine.

What had happened, we can only infer from reading between the lines. It is fairly obvious that the German aristocracy was piqued at the fact that a Jew should be so closely associated with the darling of all Germany. The new *Jahrbuch der Goethe-Gesellschaft* stressed the Teutonic elements, not only with regard to content, but even in the matter of make-up (compact Gothic letters).

Six years before he died, Geiger was obliged to part with the dream-child he had begotten and nurtured for thirty-four years.

In linguistics, Jewish scholarship has been far in advance of its editorial influence, yet without making an extensive investigation into the activities of Jews as editors or founders, I can set down the names of Jules Oppert, leading Orientalist of his generation, and at one time president of the Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles-Lettres, in connection with the founding of the *Revue d'Assyriologie;* of Joseph Halévy, founder of the *Revue Sémitique d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire Ancienne;* and of the peerless Sanskrit scholar, Theodor Benfey, who founded *Orient und Occident.*

Coming nearer our own time, we may note that K. E. F. Ascherson [1] is the director of the

[1] Ascherson may not be of Jewish descent, after all.

Berliner Studien für klassische Philologie; G. I. Ascoli is founder of the *Archivio Glottologico Italiano;* and Ezio Levi, also in Italy, is founder of the *Nuovi Studi Medievale.* In the United States, M. L. Margolis of Dropsie College has been conducting, since 1922, the *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* and for a number of years edited the *Journal of Biblical Literature,* while E. Sapir is one of four editors of a comparatively new periodical, *Language.* It is to be taken for granted, of course, that the *Revue des Études Juives* was founded and has been edited, since its inception, by Jews.

Just prior to his terrible death, the Johns Hopkins Egyptologist, Aaron Ember, together with S. Schiffer, in Paris, founded the Oriental review, *Oriens.* The fire that consumed the founder indirectly smothered the journal too. I could find only two numbers of this periodical.

In America, the anthropologists of Jewish birth have engaged in considerable editorial activity. Franz Boas, the dean of American anthropologists, is editor of the *International Journal of American Linguistics* and has served in a similar capacity, from 1906 to 1924, on the *Journal of American Folk-Lore.* R. H. Lowie is editor of the *American Journal of Anthropology* and B. Laufer is the associate editor of *American*

Archæology. Associate editorship has not been included in this study, apart from this one mention.

Nor have periodicals on education been neglected by the Jews. The physicist Moritz Kuhn edited first the *Realschule* and, for more than a decade afterwards, the *Zeitschrift für das Realschulwesen.* While the most outstanding mathematician in Poland, Samuel Dickstein, edited the journals *Przyroda i Przemysł,* and *Przegląd Pedagogiczny.* Erich Stern is the founder of the *Archiv der Erziehungswissenschaft und Jugendkunde,* and is the initiator of the series of monographs appearing under the title of *Medizin und Pädagogik.*

In Hungary, the philosopher, Bernhard Alexander, founded the two periodicals, *Magyar Tanügy* ("Hungarian Education") and *Országos Középiskolai Tanárok Közlönye* ("Journal for Masters in Secondary Schools").

I. L. Kandel, in the United States, was editor of the *Educational Yearbook of the International Institute.* There are, of course, several excellent pedagogical periodicals in Yiddish and in Hebrew (*e. g.,* the *Pedagogisher Bulletin* in Soviet Russia, and *Sh'vile ha-Khinukh* in this country) but we are concerned here exclusively with periodicals published in non-Jewish languages.

Jurisprudence

It was not my purpose to enter the field of law for my search of Jewish founders and editors of periodicals, but Semitic influence has been so vast here that it would have been a mistake to omit such fertile territory from our purview.

Again, as in the case of the physician, there is cause to wonder at the fact that the busy jurisconsult or law professor should have spent so much time in editing journals, let alone the energy consumed in founding a periodical.

In order to save space, I shall have to resort again to the tabular arrangement of the data, which incidentally will give an impressive view of the part played by Jewish legal lights in every domain of law, and practically in every European country, although Germany and Italy lead the procession. It is particularly remarkable that Italy should have produced so many luminaries on the legal firmament in comparison, let us say, with France.

Because of the uncertainty surrounding the origin of some of the men included in the list, an asterisk has been affixed to the doubtful names. The conflicting advices in this regard are most annoying; for no sooner has one practically verified someone's Hebraic descent by obtaining a

number of confirmations, than a questioning wedge is introduced by another informant.

Names in italics are of the leading world's authorities in their respective spheres.

JURISTIC PERIODICALS

Founder or Editor		*Publication*
A. Ascoli	Co-director	*Rivista di Diritto Civile*
J. F. Behrend	Editor	*Zeitschrift für Gesetzgebung und Rechtspflege in Preussen*
Ernst Blumenstein*	Founder	*Monatsschrift für bernisches Verwaltungsrecht und Notariatswesen*
Georg Cohn	Co-editor	*Zeitschrift für Rechtsphilosophie*
Georg Cohn Naphtali Cohn	Co-editors	*Juridisk Tidsskrift* (in Danish) *Lovsamling* (in Danish)
D. Frankl	Co-founder	*Juristische Vierteljahrsschrift*
Leo Geller*	Founder	*Zentralblatt für die juristische Praxis*
L. Goldschmidt	Founder	*Zeitschrift für das gesamte Handelsrecht und Konkursrecht*
K. S. Grünhut	Founder and Editor	*Zeitschrift für das Privat- und öffentliche Recht der Gegenwart*

* The asterisk denotes uncertainty as to origin, although there is some ground for the presumption that the cited individual has Jewish antecedents.

Founder or Editor		*Publication*
A. W. Herzog	Founder	*Medico-Legal Journal*
G. Jellinek	Co-founder	*Das öffentliche Recht der Gegenwart*
Erich Kaufmann	Co-director	*Verwaltungsarchiv*
Wilhelm Kroner*	Director	*Die Justiz*
E. Levy	Co-director	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*
Ludovico Mortara	Editor	*Giurisprudenza Italiana*
Eduard Neymarck	Editor	*Revue Pénitentiaire de Pologne*
Giacomo Ottolenghi	Editor	*Temi Emiliani* (Milan)
E. Rosenfeld	Editor	*Mitteilungen der internationalen kriminalistischen Vereinigung*
Giulio Sacerdoti	Editor	*Il Foro Veneto*
A. Seligsohn	Co-editor	*Zeitschrift für das gesamte Handelsrecht und Konkursrecht*
W. Siegel	Co-editor	*Archiv für Urheber-Film und Theaterrecht*
A. Sraffa	Co-director	*Rivista del Diritto Commerciale*
H. Staub	Co-editor	*Deutsche Juristenzeitung*
A. M. Vinaver	Editor	*Pravo i Zhizn* ("Law and Life"—in Russian)
Cesare Vivante	Co-director	*Rivista del Diritto Commerciale*
A. Wahl	Editor	*Revue Trimestrielle de Droit Civil*
A. Weinmann	Founder	*Der junge Rechtsgelehrte*
E Wertheimer	Editor	*Blätter für internationales Privatrecht*

As to Rudolf Stammler, co-founder of the *Zeitschrift für Rechtsphilosophie,* who, far from being a *stammerer,* is at present the mouthpiece of modern juristic philosopy (or the philosophy of right), Dean Pound of the Harvard Law School supplied me with a cue by recalling that Stammler was sometimes referred to in Germany by the playful sobriquet of "*Abstammler*" ("*descendant,*" in the significant sense) which would imply that he is at least a half-Jew. From other sources I have it that Stammler's both parents were of the same Semitic race.

The name of Giorgio Del Vecchio, Stammler's counterpart in Italy and leading exponent of the philosophy of justice, both through his books and the periodical which he directs: *Rivista Internazionale di Filosofia del Diritto,* does not sound Jewish, but the distinguished jurist and former rector of the University of Rome was kind enough, in response to my inquiry, to cable confirming the fact of his affiliation with the Jewish race.

Of our other problematic instances, in this regard, I should cite Karl von Lilienthal, editor of the *Monatsschrift für Kriminalpsychologie und Strafrechtsreform;* P. Fraenckel, an editor of the *Zeitschrift für die gesamte gerichtliche Medizin;* A. Feisenberger, editor of the *Zeitschrift für die*

gesamte Strafrechtswissenschaft; O. Liebmann, editor of the *Deutsche Juristenzeitung;* Josef Aman, editor of *Rechtspraxis,* Julius Magnus, editor of the *Juristische Wochenblatt,* Georg Baum, co-editor of *Die Wirtschaft und das Recht,* Otto Schreiber founder of the *Zeitschrift für das gesamte Luftrecht,* H. Freund, co-founder of the *Zeitschrift für das Ostrecht,* H. E. Feine and Gradenwitz, co-directors of the *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte,* Max Fleischmann, founder of the *Zeitschrift für Völkerrecht,* Fr. Goldschmit, co-founder and editor of the *Zentralblatt für Handelsrecht;* and J. Hitzig, founder of the *Zeitschrift für die Kriminalrechtspflege in den preussischen Staaten.*

Conclusions

For the benefit of those who are not acquainted with the abundance of the periodical literature, it may be stated that there are hundreds of law periodicals in the world. Nevertheless, there are no more than about sixty or seventy important ones, and even fewer of international prestige. On reviewing our list, one is surprised at the number of these select journals which have had Jews for their pilots.

It is similar with the periodicals in other fields.

We need not underestimate their number; and there probably are, after all, a good many more Italians, let us say, editing scientific periodicals than Jews, but there is this difference: the Italians are editing and founding their *own* periodicals; so many reviews are bound to be published in a country with governmental subsidies, commissions, etc. But the Jews, in taking up the reins of a publication, are more or less independent, and when they manage to make out of their journal an internationally sought periodical, surely allowance must be made for statistical weighting. One periodical, edited by Goldschmidt, Georg Cohn, Mortara, Del Vecchio, or Grünhut counterbalances ten journals of the common variety.

Thus, we see that the aptitude of the Jew for editing scientific periodicals is manifest not so much in the quantity as in the quality of the periodicals. And from what has already been shown as regards the intellectual stature of the Jewish editors, there can be no reason for applying G. B. Shaw's gibe about teachers. In other words, we cannot, with any propriety, say " If you can, write; if you can't, edit " to the Jewish directors of periodicals.

Just why the propensity for founding, directing or editing among the Jews should be so great is a topic that requires too much space to treat

at length. Certainly an editor must have a comprehensive view of his field; he must exercise a personal touch, must be on the alert for new vistas and new talent, and, of course, he must possess the scientific standing which would lend prestige to his periodical.

It is also interesting to note that the Jews in different countries specialize in different fields. In France, *e. g.,* archæology and the social sciences have been cultivated extensively, while law and medicine have been practically neglected. In Italy, law and mathematics have been singled out as the editorial hobby by the Jewish professors, or let us say rather that the Jewish authorities in law and mathematics took to founding and directing periodicals. German Jewry shows its prowess especially in the medical sciences, relatively less in the cultural sciences.

It goes without saying that, long as this essay has become, there are, for obvious reasons, a good many lacunae in it. Holland, Poland, and Scandinavia have received scant treatment; and such, linguistically, out of the way countries as Russia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Turkey, and Roumania have scarcely been considered. Technical journals (engineering, industrial chemistry, trade, aviation, etc.) have been omitted from our purview, as have also art journals (painting,

sculpture, architecture, music, except casually, dancing, etc.). If all the periodicals of a scientific nature edited by the world's Jewry were listed, the bibliography would constitute a volume in itself.

Another inquiry that suggests itself is the listing of all the more voluminous reference works, such as biographical dictionaries, encyclopedias, lexicons, etc., that were originated or compiled by Jews. It is astonishing to find that within the last fifty years, many of the most important projects of this type have been realized through Jewish initiative. But I must lay down my pen before I embark upon another arduous task.

PART IV

CHAPTER XV

PASCAL'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE JEWS

(*Written on the occasion of the recent tercentenary of the great Frenchman*)

One of the most celebrated names in the annals of French literature is that of Blaise Pascal, whose tercentenary was recently commemorated throughout the civilized world, and whose achievements in mathematics and physics easily take rank with his literary contributions. Pascal does not appear to have attained the comprehensive sweep of an authority in any one field; yet, paradoxically enough, he has left an impress on almost every science and every branch of thought in which he was interested.

Some of us may remember Pascal merely as the author of the widely quoted epigram, "If Cleopatra's nose had been shorter, the whole face of the world would have been changed," or of the less famous dictum, "*diseur de bons mots—mauvais caractère,*" but others will recall the more significant formulation known as Pascal's Principle

which they were obliged to memorize in their physics course. Fewer people will think of Pascal's theorem, which is one of the only two or three traces in existence to give evidence of his mathematical genius. It is not, however, Pascal, the scientist, to whom the world is now paying homage but Pascal, the author of the *Thoughts* and the *Provincial Letters,* Pascal, the stimulating thinker and bold apologist, and above all the consummate master of French prose.

A Youthful Genius

Space restrictions forbid us to enter into the details of Pascal's life which, though uneventful, was remarkable for its austerity and solitariness. He was not quite sixteen years old when he had completed a treatise on conic sections, of which only a summary is extant. His experiments on the barometer, conducted at the age of twenty-four, and his observations on the vacuum place him close to the level of Galileo.

Famed as a mathematician of extreme originality before he had lived a quarter of a century, Pascal was now beginning to feel the effects of his incessant labors. For several reasons, but mainly because of a miraculous cure (probably through suggestion) of his niece, who was afflicted with

BLAISE PASCAL
(1623–1662)

some lachrymal trouble, the young scientist, toward his thirtieth year, became intensely interested in theology and grew even more ascetic in his habits than he had hitherto been. The last nine years of his life, spent as an invalid, were devoted entirely to the study of religious literature, for the purpose of preparing his defense of Christianity and confutation of what he dubbed atheism. These thoughts, which he would jot down on bits of paper, were afterwards to form the body of his great but paradoxical work—the body of it because perhaps no modern work has been subjected to the whims and fancies of arbitrary editors to the same extent as the *Pensées*—a book which may be characterized as a composite of Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations,* Epictetus's *Maxims,* Seneca's *Morals,* and Montaigne's *Essays,* with the impulse of St. Anselm's *Monologium* behind it all.

We must not expect to find in this work a closely reasoned philosophy or even a well-knit set of views. Many, on picking up the *Pensées* at random, will be disappointed at the theological tone of the book and the copious references to the Scriptures. It must, however, be borne in mind that the contents of the *Pensées* are but records of Pascal's stream of thoughts, some of them never intended for publication, certainly not in the crude form in which they occurred to him.

The theological portion of the book with its streak of dogmatism, and even bigotry, is the least attractive of the *Pensées,* especially to the modern reader; yet even this arid territory is not without its oasis, which consists in the remarkable *aperçus* on the Jewish people, scattered for the most part throughout the " Thoughts on Religion."

As a student deeply interested in religion, Pascal could not but have given some consideration to the race which gave to the world its three greatest faiths, but his observations are so paradoxical that one must take a great deal of pains to interpret his seemingly contradictory reactions. Some of Pascal's utterances on the subject are so extraordinarily perspicacious that, in view especially of his lack of contact with any members of the race, we must marvel at his intuitive understanding. In spite of the importance which attaches to Pascal's views on the status of the Jews, his name is not to be found in the *Jewish Encyclopedia.*

Bigotry and Understanding

In evaluating the mental life of the Jewish people, the great Frenchman seems to be constantly changing the angle of approach. He seems to be oscillating between two conflicting attitudes. In his Christian zeal, he cannot forgive the Jews

for disavowing what he, with characteristic dogmatism, looks upon as the only possible true faith. But the streak of bigotry in him often gives way to his remarkable comprehension. He is then impelled to admire the Jews for their unique qualities. Pascal was one of the first students of Jewish history to institute a division between two types of Jews; and this discrimination appears more than once in the *Pensées*. "The Jewish religion must be differently regarded in the tradition of the sacred books and in the tradition of the people. Its morality and felicity are ridiculous in the tradition of the people, but admirable in their Saints" ("Thoughts on Mahomet and on China").

Pascal's attention was attracted to the Jewish people "by a number of wonderful and singular things which appear among them." In his eyes "they are a people wholly composed of brethren" forming "a powerful state consisting of one family, a fact without example." In the same chapter, "Of the Jewish People," we learn that this family or nation is the most ancient known to men, a piece of information which does not do honor to Pascal's scholarship and leads us to conclude that the penetrating scientist was careful to select his readings so as to confirm him in his beliefs. The expression of universality contained

in his famous principle that pressure in a fluid is exerted equally in all directions cannot be metaphorically transferred to his intellectual impetus. Hence it is that his learning fails to impress us, and his arguments, built on wobbly premises, fall flat.

The Most Perfect System

But to revert to Pascal's admiration of the Jews, we note that the duration of the people, "in spite of the endeavors of many powerful princes who have a hundred times striven to destroy them," is another trait which Pascal emphasized very strongly. These assets are scarcely more glorious than the divine Law governing the Jews, which for Pascal was the most perfect system ever produced. "Yet this Law is at the same time severe and rigorous beyond all others in respect to their religious worship, constraining the people, in order to keep them in their duty, to a thousand peculiar and painful observances on pain of death. Whence it is a most astonishing fact that it has been constantly preserved during many ages by a people so rebellious and impatient, while all other states have changed their laws from time to time, although they are far from lenient." More discerning is

Pascal's judgment regarding the sincerity of the Jews, though the proof adduced for it is rather trivial, consisting in the fact that they have preserved to this day "the book in which Moses declares that they have been all their life ungrateful to God. . . . They have kept at the cost of their life this very book which dishonors them in so many ways. This is a sincerity which has no example in the world and no root in nature" ("The Jewish Law").

Pascal's great grievance against what he terms the carnality of the Jews is their adherence to the rites of the Law and not to its spirit. Faith and the love of God (not, however, the *Amor intellectualis Dei,* which his even greater contemporary, the Jew, Spinoza, has made the cornerstone of his system) are to Pascal the only requisites in religion. The stubbornness with which the Jews have been clinging to their own form of worship, consistently rejecting the teachings of the Nazarene, was a constant source of annoyance to Pascal's *doctrinaire* mind. Yet he was prepared, in his hostility toward the Jesuits, to rank these above the Jews in hardness, since the Jews "refused to believe Jesus Christ innocent, only because they doubted if his miracles were of God. But on the contrary, though the Jesuits cannot doubt that the Port Royal miracles were of God,

they still continue to doubt the innocence of that house" ("Jesuits and Jansenists").

Interest in Jewish Religious Literature

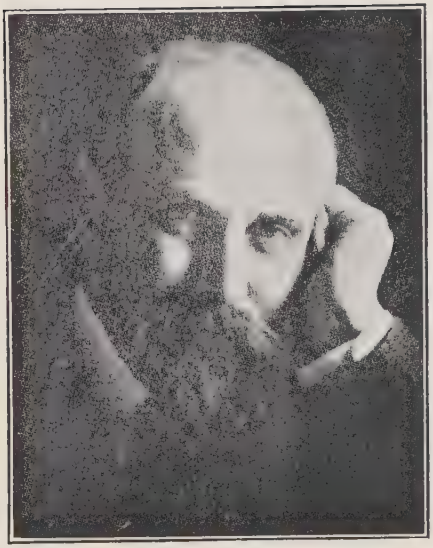
What strikes us as particularly strange is the circumstance that this beacon of science, the peer of Descartes and Leibniz in mathematics and of Torricelli and Boyle in physics, should wish to make himself acquainted with the leading Jewish *midrashim*. Fancy, for instance, the young scientist quoting R. Moses ha-Darshan and Moses Maimonides or citing the *Siphra, Bereshith Rabbah, Midrash Tehillim, Tosiphtoth* and other such works ("Of Original Sin"). That Pascal was only a dabbler in these writings, taking most of his material from the *Pugio Fidei,* by Raymund Martin (Marton), a Catalonian monk, whose proficiency in Talmudic and post-Talmudic lore was extraordinary, becomes evident from the inconsistent spelling of the Hebrew titles and the misquotations. In one passage, for instance, Maimonides is credited with the statement that "the Prophets have prophesied Jesus Christ only" ("Of Types"). Of one thing we may be certain, however: that with all his misinterpretation and *lacunæ* in his scholarship, Pascal knew more about their sacred writings than most Jews of to-day.

Pascal was pre-eminently a mystic. The Cabbala, accordingly, proved for him a source of great inspiration. He is constantly at pains to read a double meaning into the Scriptures. Figures and types play an important part in his religious philosophy, certain characters and incidents prefiguring, according to him, destinies of peoples and events of universal import. For Pascal, the Old Testament just teems with secrets and mysteries that are as yet unravelled. "The Jewish and Egyptian peoples were visibly foretold by the two men whom Moses met, the Egyptian beating the Jew, Moses avenging him and slaying the Egyptian, while the Jew was ungrateful." Pascal's attribution of significant values to the Hebrew letters would lead us to infer that, had he been born a Jew, he might have found his desideratum in the field of Jewish homiletics and hermeneutics, indulging in some of the number-juggling for which the Ba'al ha-Turim became celebrated as a Biblical commentator.

It is perhaps no more than fitting that the man who had devoted so much attention to the Jews and their specific contribution should have, in his turn, called forth a similar service on his behalf in a distinguished Jewish compatriot of his; for no man has done for the *Pensées* so much as Léon Brunschvicg, who heads the Neo-Kantian school

of philosophy in France, just as Bergson and Lévy-Bruhl lead the other two great schools. It was Brunschvicg who, by dint of his laborious researches, has been able to restore most of Pascal's original text, and, through his introduction of over three hundred pages and thousands of footnotes, has illuminated many of the obscure passages in Pascal's famous work. Brunschvicg's edition of the *Pensées,* in three volumes, by far the best and most exhaustive, is a distinct contribution not only to French scholarship but to the world of letters at large.[1] Furthermore, he was the leading spirit in bringing out, together with Pierre Boutroux (and later with A. Gazier), the superb edition of Pascal's complete works, in eleven volumes, of about 500 pages each, replete with textual emendations and elucidating comments. It was a Jew, then, who made the attempt, at least, to lend some semblance of logic to Pascal's sterile, and in some places, even inane arguments in favor of certain outworn dogmas which the nevertheless great scientist fondly cherished in his air-tight mind.

[1] This work is dedicated to Ludovic Halévy.



LÉON BRUNSCHVICG
(1869–)

CHAPTER XVI

RENAN'S PLACE IN SEMITIC PHILOLOGY[1]

Many are the scholars who have by their labors enriched the field of Semitic languages, beginning with Reuchlin and the two Scaligers and ending with Nöldeke and Halévy, but no one, not even Gesenius, whose Hebrew lexicon has become a classic among dictionaries, has meant so much for the Jews as (Joseph) Ernest Renan, who was born a hundred years ago in the village of Tréguier, Brittany, the son of a sailor.

It would be difficult to present an adequate sketch of the life of this giant of French letters in a short chapter. The story of his inward struggle while preparing for the priesthood, as his researches were opening his eyes to the impossibility of reconciling the demands of rigorous thinking with the dogmas of the church—this account in itself is most fascinating, and I shall never forget the profound impression Renan's *Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse,* written in an exquisite style,

[1] This essay first appeared in 1923, on the occasion of Renan's centenary.

left on me as a young student at McGill University. This book, which unfortunately in its (stilted) English translation is out of print, not only gives us the key to Renan's whole personality but is a masterpiece of French prose, distinguished for its limpidity of expression as well as for the powerful experiences it records.

These reminiscences were published at the age of sixty, and were preceded by a veritable library of works in which solid scholarship was beautifully blended with artistry of form. When only a young man of twenty-four, he had already presented as a prize essay a survey of the general history and comparative system of the Semitic languages. It is in this youthful essay, which was afterwards expanded into a good-sized volume, that he expressed his views on the inferiority of the Semitic peoples, mainly on the ground that monotheism was a less esthetic form of worship than polytheism, and also for the reason that the Semites, particularly the Jews, possessed no mythology. Of all his voluminous works, Renan, strange to say, prized most highly his severely scientific work on Phœnician inscriptions, which forms an invaluable contribution to the *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum,* founded by the subject of this sketch.

It is not, however, by virtue of his purely

(JOSEPH) ERNEST RENAN
(1823–1892)

erudite works that Renan has been able to attract the attention of the intellectual world. We must look to his eight volumes (including the index) on the origins of Christianity and his subsequent *Histoire du peuple d'Israël,* in five volumes, if we wish to understand the reason for the tremendous influence he exercised throughout the civilized world. His *Life of Jesus,* which constituted the first volume of his *Origins of Christianity,* seems to have been an epoch-making book, for apart from the fact that sixty thousand copies of the work were sold within the first five months of its publication, it brought forth a torrent of books and articles in reply. The Bishop of Marseilles, it is said, had the church bells tolled every afternoon in condemnation of Renan, while Pope Pius IX referred to the great Frenchman (or Breton) as "the European blasphemer." The clericals in France were even spreading rumors to the effect that the Rothschilds had paid the author a large sum of money to write the tormenting work.

Confronted with such an outcry, it need scarcely be wondered at that the Government suspended Renan's courses in Hebrew at the Collège de France, because of his unorthodox views, and when the courageous thinker showed no contrition, deprived him two years later of his professorship. It was not till the fall of the Empire in 1870 that

Renan was reinstated in his professorship, even becoming, in later years, administrator of the Collège de France. Since 1870, he had been honored and fêted in various ways, being elected to the French Academy in 1878. He was one of the first foreigners to be called to England to deliver the Hibbert lectures, and functioned as the chief orator on the occasion of the unveiling of Spinoza's statue at The Hague in 1882.

We cannot dwell here on the achievements of Renan as a philosophical essayist or as a literary critic, though the rôle which characterizes him best is that of a critic. Let us content ourselves at present with the fact that France's foremost man of letters recognizes in Renan his master; and surely it does not take much critical power to discern in such works of Anatole France as *The Gods Are Athirst, Crainquebille,* or *The Revolt of the Angels,* the subtle irony which the illustrious Semitic scholar wielded with such irresistible force. While it is true that Renan was not a writer of fiction, though we must make allowance for his philosophical plays and a decided narrative style which colors many of the episodes he relates, there is a certain outlook on life which is common to both these lofty spirits, born in France and yet not strictly of French descent.

Was Renan an Anti-Semite?

But we must hasten to consider Renan's attitude toward the Jews, whose original language and history he knew so thoroughly. More than once, this enthusiast of Hebrew was credited with being the father of the so-called scientific anti-Semitism. Yet the same Renan—so he tells us in his *Souvenirs*—was on the verge of being asked by some of his fellow-students at St. Sulpice whether he was not intending to become a Jew, because he had formed a habit of reciting the Psalms in Hebrew out of a little book written in his own hand. That was the period during which he was undergoing his spiritual crisis when he would repeat to himself, in a symbolic context, the Hebrew phrase which Naphthali's mother used (Genesis XXX, 8 נפתולי אלהים נפתלתי)[1] to describe her struggle. At this point I am almost tempted to recount the touching meeting between the skeptical student and his warm-hearted Catholic professors, who were pained at the outcome of Renan's profound studies, but who were nevertheless willing to lend him a helping hand after he had decided to part company with them. But we must revert to the

[1] "I have wrestled the wrestlings of the Lord." The King James version gives a different rendering, *viz.*, "With great wrestlings have I wrestled with my sister" (*i.e.*, Leah).

main issue of the essay, *viz.*, Renan's conception of the Jewish people.

It would be futile to argue that a Hebraist of the first order could not be infected with Judeophobia; for only a superficial acquaintance of Jewish history will disclose the names of many Gentile admirers of the Hebrew language who were at least not well disposed toward the Jews, though their knowledge of the Hebrew language and literature was, no doubt, a factor in reducing their racial antagonism.

There is no denying that Renan was instrumental in spreading through his earlier works some dubious notions relative to Jewish psychology. Such misconceptions were due largely, I should suppose, to a certain immaturity in judging complex matters, as well as to a shifting point of view. Just as the average young student is certain to belittle Kant and Spinoza and extol a superficial enlightenment philosopher of the eighteenth century, so it is possible that Renan was attracted to the estheticism of the Hellenic race to such an extent as to lose cognizance of the spiritual height to which the Jewish people had risen. In his maturer years he swerved not a little from this position, but alas—" the evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred

with their bones." Renan's unfavorable remarks were seized upon with avidity by anti-Jewish writers, while the passages exalting the Jewish race have been practically ignored.

The celebrated Orientalist had imbibed too freely out of the Semitic reservoir to belittle those who had produced it; and, in truth, many are the utterances in which Ernest Renan gave expression to his reverence for the seemingly undying people. I shall present here only a few instances of his glowing tributes. In his *Vie de Jésus,* after discussing a number of religions, he eloquently exclaims, *" C'est la race sémitique qui a la gloire d'avoir fait la religion d'humanité."* (To the Semitic race belongs the glory of having created the religion of humanity.) In contrast with his earlier declaration that the Greeks practiced a more sublime form of worship, we find Renan, in his *Histoire du peuple d'Israël,* comparing with the rationalism of the Jews the gross absurdity of idolatry which the Indo-Germanic races were engrossed in. " Here we find one of the great differences between the development of the Aryans and that of the Semites. Among the Greeks, among the Romans, among the modern peoples up to the sixteenth century, the aristocracy showed an extreme weakness toward the superstitions and the coarse opinions of the masses. Among the

Hebrews, the spiritual chiefs combated superstition to the bitter end, finally conquering it. In Europe such a movement is not evident till the Reformation, hence the Reformation of the sixteenth century ought to be considered as a reversion to the Hebrew spirit, produced by the reading of the Bible" (*Le génie hébreu*).

Just as there were two things which filled the great Kant with admiration and awe, *viz.*, the starry heaven above and the moral law within, so Renan seemed to be impressed by what he termed the Jewish miracle and the Greek miracle. In the lofty chapter on Athens in his *Souvenirs*, he takes occasion to remark, "For a long time I was no longer a believer in miracles in the strict sense of the word, yet the unique destiny of the Jewish people . . . appeared to be something of a *sui generis*." His attitude toward the Jews and Judaism may be gathered from this clear-cut statement, "*Les ennemis du Judaïsme, regardez y de près, vous verrez que ce sont en général des ennemis de l'esprit moderne.*"

Nor must it be supposed that Renan's admiration of the Jews was confined to the ancient stock. In his *Recollections* is to be found the following significant observation: "Germany, after devoting herself entirely to military life, would have had no talent left, if it were not for

the Jews to whom she had been so ungrateful "—an observation which received expert confirmation thirty-five years later, after Germany's doom had been sealed, in the impassioned words of our own ex-ambassador Gerard, who wrote in 1918, "Germany boasts of her *Kultur,* her learning, that she is pre-eminent in philosophy, literature and art. But that is not true. It is not they but the Jews, the Jews. Take away the Jews from all branches of her culture and Germany is destitute" (*My Four Years in Germany*).

It is quite apparent that some of Renan's views on the psychology of the Semites had undergone a change toward the latter part of his life. Even a Renan is not infallible; and his premature dictum, "The desert is monotheistic," which would tend to minimize the magnificent contribution of the Jews, was decisively refuted by evidence embodied in the Corpus of Inscriptions which he himself had inaugurated.

Renan's Intercourse with Jews

Renan's relations with the Jews have always been most amicable. Indeed, it was a Jew who gave Renan the first start in life. Again I must translate from his delightful autobiography, the *Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse.* "I had never

imagined," Renan writes, "that the product of my thinking could have a commercial value. I have always dreamt of writing, but I had never supposed that it could bring me a penny. Fancy then my astonishment when I saw one day entering my attic a man of intelligent and agreeable appearance, who began to compliment me on some articles that I had published, and offered to assemble them into volumes. A stamped document, that he had brought with him, stipulated the conditions, which seemed to me amazingly generous, so that when he asked me whether I should like to have all my future writings included under the same agreement, I consented. For a moment it had occurred to me to make certain remarks, but the thought of losing this beautiful sheet of paper inhibited me. I did well to check myself. M. Michel Lévy must have been appointed by a special decree of Providence to be my publisher. . . . M. Michel Lévy and I got along together splendidly. Later on, he pointed out that the contract he had given me was not advantageous enough for me and he substituted another even more liberal one. I was told some time afterwards that I did not bring him any bad business. Nothing pleases me more. In any case, I may say that if there was in me some capital in the form of literary production, justice would demand that

he have his large share of it; it is he alone who discovered it. I never had the slightest notion of it."

It is worth remarking that the best books and periodicals in France are still published by the two Jewish firms, Calmann-Lévy and Félix Alcan, in Paris. The incident which Renan relates throws a good deal of light on the cultural situation in France as compared with that in this country, where a publisher will accept writers, not on the principle of how much they can *give* to the world, but on the basis of how they will *take* with the semi-educated public.

Renan must have come in contact with many of the most distinguished Jews in France, because of his membership in the Société des Études Juives, before which he had delivered two important addresses, and in whose journal (*Revue des Etudes Juives*) his name appears quite frequently, though not as a contributor. In Adolf Neubauer, a Hungarian Jew, who later became reader of Rabbinical Hebrew at Oxford and curator of the Bodleian Library whose collection he enriched by his judicious purchases, Renan found a friend of great assistance to himself. It was Neubauer who, by his indefatigable labors, prepared the material on the French rabbis, which Renan edited and which, in compliance with a rule of the

French Academy, appeared under the editor's name in the monumental *Histoire littéraire de France.*

A number of Renan's views were disputed by Orientalists of Jewish descent. Most eminent among the controversialists who discussed Renan's writings with a certain amount of dissension were Khvolson of the University of St. Petersburg, Th. Reinach and the two Darmesteters (all four, Jews), but Renan seemed to have made it a rule not to reply to critics. One of the best biographies of Renan is that by Marie Darmesteter, James Darmesteter's widow and now Madame Duclaux.

The dilemma in which the French Government officials, including the President and the Premier, are placed with regard to the festivities in honor of Renan's centenary, because of the attitude the Catholic Church has taken toward one who might have been one of her great luminaries, were it not for his critical spirit—this dilemma symbolizes the history of modern France and points to a universal tragedy.

CHAPTER XVII

MOSES MENDELSSOHN

MASTER OF FATE

In modern history, there is, for the Jews, probably no more illustrious name than that of Moses Mendelssohn, whose two hundredth birthday is being celebrated this year throughout the civilized world; but Mendelssohn is more than the name of a personage, more than the mere distinguishing mark of a towering historical figure. It stands for an epoch in Jewish history, a landmark in the annals of the world's Jewry, so that as with Raphael in the history of painting, we may refer to the pre-Mendelssohnian period and the post-Mendelssohnian period as two distinct divisions in modern Jewish history.

There have flourished, of course, at least several Jews in the preceding centuries who might have surpassed the Dessauer, as he was often called, in some one particular field. Certainly the great Spinoza gave evidence of deeper philosophical insight and of a more original world conception. The Spanish poets, Ibn-Gabirol and Yehudah Halevy, combined a sublime imaginative genius together with an irresistible impulse to

inquire into first principles, but Mendelssohn stands out like a pillar through many generations because of the influence he wielded, not only among his brethren, but with the upper classes in Germany and men of note in foreign countries.

Mendelssohn's name is thus to be associated with the cultural renaissance of the Jews, whose plight in the eighteenth century was far from enviable. In fact so cramped were the German Jews, politically, financially and educationally that none of their number could obtain a university degree except in the faculty of medicine. Their rights and privileges were questioned on every occasion; and in order to secure a permit for permanent residence in the capital of Prussia, Mendelssohn, almost at the zenith of his career, was compelled to accept the aid of influential friends who interceded for him with Frederick the Great. As the story goes, a French marquis, who was an intimate of the King of Prussia, wrote him, saying that "a bad Catholic philosopher begs a bad Protestant philosopher to allow a bad Jewish philosopher to sojourn in Berlin." The anecdote is, of course, without point; let us, therefore, hope that it is, at least, not devoid of some truth.

In order properly to estimate Mendelssohn's achievement and personality, we must take into

account the handicaps which he had to overcome, in addition to the restrictions imposed upon his race.

Born in the small town of Dessau, the son of a scribe and teacher who was compelled to live on a pittance, the young Moses, early in life, became inured to hardship and privation; for his father would wake him in the early hours of the morning to take him to the synagogue. His education was limited to the study of the Scriptures in the Hebrew and, thanks to Rabbi David Fraenkel, parts of the Talmud, which he soon supplemented by a profound study of Maimonides' chief work *The Guide of the Perplexed.*

It was to these incessant labors that the ungainly Moses attributed his slightly hunched back. " Maimonides," he once said, in a tone of pleasantry, " is the cause of my deformity. He spoiled my figure and ruined my constitution. Yet I dote on him, for . . . if he has been the unwitting cause of my physical weakness, has he not amply compensated me by invigorating my soul with sublime knowledge? " As a matter of fact, I should ascribe his curvature of the spine to congenital causes, for it is known that at least one of his daughters possessed the same defect in a slighter degree.

That this deformed youngster would prove the

reformer, not alone of his people, but of the biased intellectual aristocracy in general; that this boy, whose humped nose, thick lips, grizzly hair and ill-natured mien might easily have been interpreted as the stigmata of an ordinary churl (although nobility shone through the eyes and hovered over the lofty brow), would some day, by his teachings and example, help to regenerate a whole race—is something that could not have been predicted on general principles, just as it could not have been foretold that this unfavored creature would some day be the grandsire of the great and favorite Felix Mendelssohn, who held about the same position in musical spheres as Moses enjoyed in the philosophical world.

Yet, as the French say—not without exaggeration—"It is always the unexpected which happens," and the stunted Dessau lad was destined, in spite of his retiring habits, to become not only the leader of Jewry throughout the world, but the master of German diction, the founder of the German school of esthetics, the *arbiter elegantiæ* of his period, the inseparable friend of Lessing and other influential men, the man whom Kant admired most of all his contemporaries, and finally, the Nestor of cultured society and at the same time the paragon of virtuous souls, who saw in Moses Mendelssohn the embodiment of their

ethical ideals. Mendelssohn was a living refutation of the Latin adage "*Mens sana, in corpore sano,*" and it is in this respect that he stands out a crucial instance of genius defeating the conspiracy of circumstances.

If there is any one who is still inclined to assert his firm belief in the overwhelming predominance of circumstances over personality in the shaping of a great man's destiny, let him ponder the life of the Dessau sage, who was known as Moses, the son of Mendel, in his early years, but later styled the Jewish Socrates, and, by the Jews, even compared to Maimonides—the greatest compliment that could have been conferred by his co-religionists; for had it not been said by way of supplement to the Biblical dictum, "And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses," that "From Moses to Moses (Maimonides) there arose not any one like unto Moses"?

When Emerson, in his famous essay on "Character," declared, "Character is centrality, the impossibility of being displaced or overset," he might well have illustrated the pregnant remark by citing the case of Mendelssohn. But the author of the modern *Phædo* was not merely able to resist all attempts at displacement. He channelled his own path and step by step broke down the barriers which might have impeded the progress

of a Hercules. Every episode of his life bristles with romance, not of the kind which involves the sexes, of course, but romance nevertheless.

When scarcely fourteen, he leaves Dessau for Berlin in order to come again under the tutelage of his former teacher, Rabbi Fraenkel, who meanwhile had received a call from the congregation in Berlin. It was no easy task for the youth to remain in the metropolis without means, especially as he was up to this time uneducated, except in Hebrew lore. But that apparently was the least of his worries. A burning ambition to master the classical and the most important modern languages, including German, as well as the rudiments of mathematics, caused him to forget his physical wants (which were partially satisfied through a benefactor who years afterwards received him as a member of his banking firm). Meanwhile, young Moses was making rapid strides in his studies and was able at times to benefit by the instruction of some of his more fortunately placed friends.

Every time he is introduced to a new friend, a lasting bond is formed, and the erstwhile skeptical patron wonders afterwards why the recommender did not employ more glowing terms. A medical student subsequently introduces Moses to Ephraim Gotthold Lessing as a "good chess

LESSING AND LAVATER IN MOSES MENDELSSOHN'S STUDY, BETWEEN A GAME OF CHESS AND A PHILOSOPHICAL CHAT

After a painting by Louis Katzenstein.

player," and thereafter Mendelssohn's future takes on a roseate hue. The Titan of German letters, the fearless critic and apostle of tolerance recognizes in the introverted Jew not only a kindred spirit, but a man of surpassing intellect. Lessing and Mendelssohn become bosom friends and even write a short satirical work conjointly (*Pope—a Metaphysician*). For once it must be conceded that circumstance favored Mendelssohn in being thrown in with a man of Lessing's stamp, for the one was almost an *alter ego* of the other, although Lessing was primarily a dramatist and critic, while Mendelssohn was, first of all, the philosopher and apologist of his people. Lessing sought to unveil the world's bigotry by arguing the case of the Jews in his immortal plays *The Jews* and *Nathan the Wise;* Mendelssohn defended his brethren by parrying the onslaughts against their religion. Thus did the noble pair work together, not only in removing prejudice, but in laying the foundations of a new theory of criticism.

How much pathos there is to be found in this incident, and how much food for reflection it yields! Lessing, waxing enthusiastic over a work of the Earl of Shaftesbury, once took it to his friend for comment. Mendelssohn, after perusing it, somewhat playfully ventured that he might

produce something on the same order, in which he would refute the author. Lessing cheerfully took up the challenge and encouraged Mendelssohn in the endeavor. Soon after, the latter handed Lessing a manuscript entitled "Philosophical Chats," which he was to examine at leisure. Since then, Mendelssohn had occasion to visit Lessing several times, but was too reserved to broach the question of the manuscript. Finally, after a lengthy interval, the author brought himself to inquire whether Lessing had yet had the time to look into the work. Lessing pleaded that he still wanted leisure but would read it very shortly without delay. In the meantime, pressing a little volume into his hand, he would ask Mendelssohn to take it home with him and give him his opinion of it. Mendelssohn's astonishment at seeing the manuscript in print may well be imagined. "Put it into your pocket," said the Lucifer of Germany to the confused Moses, "and this mammon along with it. It is what I got for the copyright; it will be of service to you."

Mendelssohn had already published some brilliant essays in the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenchaften,* but the publication of this work, in 1755, brought Mendelssohn into great prominence. The twenty-five-year-old Jew who, but a few years before, spoke a Judeo-German dialect

(afterwards developing into Yiddish), taught the Germans how to write a graceful style and, what is more, rebuked them for neglecting their own culture in order to flatter French taste. Although not addressed to King Frederick, the charge was nevertheless most applicable to him and his court.

Mendelssohn's fame rose steadily thereafter. In the same year, Lessing published his friend's *Letters on the Sensations,* which caused somewhat of a furore among the *élite,* some suspecting that Lessing was its author. This delightfully written book was translated into French several years later.

The most unbelievable surprise was, however, to come yet. In 1764, the Royal Academy of Science in Berlin offered a prize for the best essay on a subject in metaphysics. Among the contestants were such men as Thomas Abbt, who, had he not died at the age of twenty-eight, might have been one of the luminaries of his century, and the great Immanuel Kant, who was nearly forty at the time and, therefore, Mendelssohn's senior. Who could have imagined that the self-taught Jew would wrest the prize of seventy-five ducats from the most profound philosopher of modern times?

The friendship between Kant and Mendelssohn, which began a few years after this award, and after the name Mendelssohn had already been

widely known even in court circles, was just as sincere, though not as intimate, as that between the latter and Lessing.

When Kant received a complimentary offer from the premier of Frederick the Great to leave Königsberg for Halle, he suspected that both Mendelssohn and the young Herz had been advancing his cause at court, and especially with von Zedlitz, the Minister of State.

Among the conspicuous figures of the day who sought Mendelssohn's acquaintance were Hamann, the philosopher, and Herder, one of the pioneers of German culture. It is interesting to note that Hamann asked Mendelssohn to forgive his " abominable name," and as fate would have it, the ties between the modern " Mordecai " and the Persian minister's namesake were loosened when Mendelssohn, with his usual candor and sincerity, imputed a certain affectation to Hamann's style. The subsequent controversies in connection with Mendelssohn's defense of Judaism hark back to this incident, and the most entertaining feature about this polemic was that the Jew confounded the bubbling German by adopting for the nonce Hamann's obscure and flowery style. Fifteen years later, when Mendelssohn, on a business trip, took occasion to pay a visit to Kant's dwelling, where he met Hamann

again, the latter wrote to Lavater, in Switzerland, that he had "spent more than one sweet hour in his company. . . . This man is really the salt and light of his race, and had he become one of us, like Adam he would have lost his merit and worth."

Of greater consequence was the short-lived friendship with Jacobi, the philosopher of Faith, who had espoused the doctrine of Spinoza and, in his zeal to convert Mendelssohn to pantheism, stoutly maintained that Lessing, who was no more, had admitted the truth of Spinoza's views. Mendelssohn, whose health had already been undermined as a result of his consuming labors, was chagrined at this imputation, and wrote his *Morning Hours or Lectures on the Existence of God,* which Kant regarded as the most finished example of a dogmatic metaphysics, and a monument whose value will never wane. Scarcely did this work appear when Jacobi published a lengthy rejoinder, in which the correspondence and the conversations involving himself, Mendelssohn, and Elise Reimarus (an intimate friend of both, as well as of the deceased Lessing) were included. Mendelssohn was clearly incensed at this indiscretion, and he prepared another pamphlet, in which he was to clear the memory of his dear friend from the charge of pantheism. On

the day he took the manuscript to the publisher, he contracted a cold. A high fever set in a few days later, and early in 1786, he died, at the age of fifty-seven, mourned, not only by his people, but by the intellectuals throughout Europe. Philosophers, poets, princes and courtiers joined in the public tribute paid to his memory. A monument in Dessau proclaims before the world the birthplace of the Nordic Moses, who, with his Alpine (Maimonides, in Spain) and Mediterranean namesakes, symbolized the Jewish spirit in three different ages and in lands as far apart.

Mendelssohn and the Jewish Enlightenment

Contrary to the general notion among intelligent Jews, Mendelssohn did not take the initiative in representing Jewish affairs. To be sure, he was looked up to as a man of great attainments and wide influence, but he lacked the dynamic element in his make-up. Had he lived in our own time, he could certainly not be depended upon to launch campaigns, nor would he probably be sought as a speaker at the Y. M. H. A. forums. There was a certain aloofness in him toward the Jewish masses; and Jewish emancipation for him hinged on the ability of Jews to participate in the German

intellectual life. Before this could be achieved, the hateful "jargon" had to be supplanted by a refined German; and the forerunner of the reform movement, who in reality was more orthodox than most conservative Jews of to-day, conceived the idea of translating the Bible into German, albeit transliterated in Hebrew characters. But the project did not take shape until Mendelssohn was thoroughly roused from his somewhat phlegmatic state.

It was the acquaintance of young Lavater—famous more for his physiognomical researches, the source book of our modern pseudo-science of character analysis, than for his commendable courage and verse—which proved to be an epoch-making event in the life of Mendelssohn. The twenty-two-year-old Swiss pastor, who came all the way to Berlin to pay homage in person to the celebrated author of *Phædon,* was so enthralled by Mendelssohn's personality that, several years afterwards, on translating a work by the Swiss philosopher, Bonnet, in which Christianity was extolled, he sent the work to Mendelssohn with an importunate dedication. Mendelssohn was to refute Bonnet's arguments publicly, or else do what "wisdom, love of truth and honesty would naturaliy dictate."

The gentle philosopher was cut to the quick at

this clumsy challenge, and his Gentile friends shared his embarrassment, but the sword had already been drawn and the deformed knight straightened his back and threw down his gauntlet. Dangerous as it was for him to express himself frankly, he felt that the die had been cast, and Mendelssohn penned a masterly epistle in which the tables were turned on the Swiss zealot. Here he took occasion to point out that missionary endeavors were foreign to the Jewish tradition, that not creed but tolerance is of paramount importance, and so long as prejudice reigned supreme, religious controversies were futile.

Lavater's position was not an enviable one. Even Bonnet wrote to Mendelssohn expressing his regret over the circumstance that he should have been the unwitting cause of his discomfiture; although, taking umbrage at Mendelssohn's implication that better arguments in favor of Christianity could be found in German writings, he treated the Jewish philosopher rather unceremoniously a year later when he brought out a second edition of his book. Lavater was now sorry for stirring up such animus and publicly apologized to Mendelssohn, but the war had already been precipitated. Our Moses became the storm-center of two camps, and pamphlets both in French and in German, for and against Mendelssohn, swamped the fairs and bookstalls.

Meanwhile, the translation of the Pentateuch was progressing amidst difficulties. Commentaries had to be appended; for the translation alone was bound to leave many gaps in the understanding of the Scriptures. Young scholars were drawn into this gigantic task, but upon the master himself devolved the bulk of the work, which took ten years to complete, and even then only the *Pentateuch, Ecclesiastes,* the *Psalms,* and the *Song of Songs* had been translated.

During these ten years, Mendelssohn was compelled to act as a *defensor fidei* and the protector of his people on more than one occasion. It was not without reluctance that he appealed to Lavater to intercede on behalf of the Jews of Geneva, who were imperilled by a state edict. Lavater's influence averted the threatened expulsion. At another time, Mendelssohn was approached by the representative of the Alsatian Jews to draw up a memorandum in connection with their growing restrictions. Mendelssohn thought it both wise and expedient to intrust a young admirer of his, the courtier Dohm, with the task of writing this petition, which was eventually to create a sensation in the bigoted circles of Europe. Dohm had achieved his purpose sincerely and conscientiously, but not without a certain degree of maladroitness. He defended the Jews much as a

Southern humanitarian colonel would speak on behalf of the Negro. Apparently, Mendelssohn was not altogether pleased with this type of apology and induced his former *protégé,* Markus Herz, who had now become a recognized physician, to translate, from the English original, the tract *Vindiciæ Judæorum,* by Manasseh ben Israel, the friend of Oliver Cromwell. Mendelssohn's preface to this book contained an impassioned plea to regard the Jews as human beings with rights and not merely as creatures that were to be pitied.

The rancor in the camp of the reactionaries, which had already been stirred up by several of Mendelssohn's writings, as well as by Dohm's pamphlet, was now beginning to gain impetus. A host of maligners scribbled their grievances against the elevated son of Israel. Frederick, in the meantime, had ordered a German digest to be prepared of the Jewish civil code; and the worn-out philosopher, who was hard at work on his Pentateuch translation, was now approached by the Chief Rabbi of Prussia to assist him in this work. As a result, *The Ritual Laws of the Jews* appeared in 1770.

The declining Mendelssohn felt that he must yet make a superhuman effort to crush his critics, both the Jewish zealots, who were accusing him of

free thought, and the bigoted Christians, who were charging him with deism, prevarication, and sundry acts of poor policy. Three years before his death, he published his *Jerusalem, or On Ecclesiastic Rights and Judaism,* which is an everlasting tribute to the third great Moses; and Kant's encomium, quoted in the following chapter, "Kant and Mendelssohn," is sufficient to indicate the value of the work. Here the true Mendelssohn is revealed; broad-minded, fearless, astute, and yet simple in his exposition, he outlines his *credo* with a grace and charm which beguile the reader, and with an incisiveness which compels conviction. The champion of Judaism little suspected that his own sons and daughters would betray his sacred heritage in the next generation, and that only a century after his controversy with Lavater, the sole Jewish spark of the glowing beacon light would have been extinguished when his great-grandson, Alexander, died, in 1871. Moses Mendelssohn was master of his fate, but it was impossible for him to govern destiny.

Mendelssohn's translation of the *Pentateuch* into German (usually referred to, because of the added commentary, as the *Biur*), of which even the somewhat fanatical Gaon of Wilno procured a copy as soon as it appeared, his encouragement of secular study, his activity in founding the Jew-

ish Free School, which was a model institution until, forty years after his death, it closed its doors, when a royal edict forbade Christian children to attend its classes, his training a number of talented young men for the purpose of disseminating knowledge among the Jews—all these endeavors have identified his name with the so-called Enlightenment Movement, and later with reformed Judaism, but his disciples had overshot the mark; and the tragedy which overtook his family, as he would view it, were he alive, is ample proof of the dangers of a miscalculated experiment.

Mendelssohn's Personality

We must not suppose that Moses Mendelssohn takes his place as one of the greatest Jews in history because of his philosophical and literary achievements alone, or because of his efforts on behalf of his brethren. It was his personality which played a most important part in his fame. No one who had the good fortune of coming in contact with him could help being impressed with his wit and geniality. His good taste, his sparkling conversational qualities were noted by all his acquaintances. His attitude was always friendly. Never did he lose control of his emo-

tions, although, as he tells us, his passions had to be curbed. Meekness and reserve characterized all his actions. In all his criticism he was moderate. His language was tempered and he refrained from making positive assertions. Nor was he prone to take the offensive; but once attacked, he would effectively ward off the blow. Several of his best works were provoked by the challenges of his renowned adversaries. Yet his gentle spirit was by no means faint-hearted. In one of his literary essays he even dared to criticize the verse of the redoubtable Frederick, and when one of the intellectual world, who had been a secret enemy of the influential Jew, turned informer, Mendelssohn, who was ordered to appear on a Saturday before the King at Sans-Souci, did not offer to apologize, but with Socratic equanimity, he pointed out that he who makes verse plays at nine-pins, and he who plays at nine-pins, be he monarch or peasant, must tolerate the comment of the pin-boy. Frederick probably was not pleased with the reply but hesitated to punish a man who could so subtly overwhelm him.

The royal factotum, however, was content to bide his time; and that his much heralded magnanimity left much to be desired may be seen from the fact that when Mendelssohn was elected a member of the Royal Academy of Science in Ber-

lin, in 1771, the King, after a long delay in confirming the honor, struck his critic's name off the list. Mendelssohn's feelings in the matter may be imagined, yet he received the disconcerting news with stoical resignation.

Mendelssohn's personal favors and manifestations of solicitude for the welfare of others place him in the light of a public benefactor. A singular incident I unearthed in the first psychological journal ever published, *viz.*, the *Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde,* of 1783, where the editor, Karl Philipp Moritz, relates how Mendelssohn (who was his friend, and had, I believe, at one time successfully staved off a suicidal attempt on the part of this erratic genius) once visited a psychopathic high school inspector, who with a bitter determination was starving himself to death, in order to induce him to take some nourishment. The Jewish sage at first pretended to be a Polish physician, but the patient would have nothing to do with doctors and would receive no medical aid. Suspecting that it might be the famous Mendelssohn standing before him, he asked, "Are you not Mendelssohn?" to which question the latter nodded and extended his hand. The patient was now eager to discuss all sorts of abstruse questions in which he had always been interested, and which really were at the bottom of his troubles,

but his enfeebled condition made it impossible for him to speak. The visitor now took the occasion to encourage him to break his fast so as to be able to carry on the dispute, and promised to spend many hours in his company after that. No sooner was Mendelssohn gone than the patient, who had already assented to the proposal, waxed furious and protested loudly that this was merely a ruse to divert him from the determined course he had decided on (to avenge himself on society which spurned and persecuted him for his atheistic convictions). He would not think of food now, and in his diary he wrote that Mendelssohn was about to deceive him.

More than once, the Jewish youths whom the philosopher befriended took advantage of his generosity and conducted themselves openly, in a manner which was annoying to their patron, especially as he was being held responsible by certain captious critics for all their misdemeanors. Thus, was he obliged to bear not only the brunt of the battle between religions but also the personal burden of unscrupulous individuals.

CHAPTER XVIII

KANT AND MENDELSSOHN

A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THEIR CORRESPONDENCE

In the history of modern philosophy, no name ranks with that of Kant, unless it be that of Spinoza. But the latter we admire and even adore for his possibilities more than for his actual achievements, and for his saintliness, rather than his influence. Though Spinoza was manifestly a genius of the first water, the circumstances of his life have reduced his philosophical productivity. Had Kant died as prematurely as Spinoza and before he was "awakened from (his) dogmatic slumber," the name of Kant would have figured much less than that of the Amsterdam lens grinder. It was in the last decades of his fourscore years that the Copernicus of philosophy effected his revolution in modern thought, and thence has been looked upon as the father of all subsequent schools.

It is perhaps not remarkable that the great Kant should have had Jewish friends; but it is worthy

of note that the founder of the critical philosophy, unlike his intellectual offspring, J. G. Fichte, viewed the Jewish people in the light of their representatives. It so happened that Moses Mendelssohn, easily the foremost Jew of his age, was one of Kant's most intimate friends, and many are the letters that passed between the Dessau sage and the Königsberg philosopher. That the self-taught, deformed Jew should have wrested from the highly trained philosopher and scholar the prize for metaphysics offered by the Royal Academy of Science was, indeed, a phenomenon which must have impressed Kant considerably. No doubt, Mendelssohn's clearness and elegance of expression counted in the estimation of the judges more than the depth of Kant's treatment. Yet the great modern philosopher, not only was high-minded himself, but found in the third great Moses a paragon of nobility and virtue, just as Lessing had taken him for the prototype of *Nathan the Wise.*

It would require a little volume to publish the correspondence between Kant and his Jewish philosophical associates. Certainly no one could do justice to the subject even within the compass of a series of articles. I propose, therefore, merely to indicate a few of the more important passages contained in these letters, which bring to light the

conspicuous rôle played by the German Jews at a time when even a Mendelssohn was obliged to pray for a permit to maintain residence in Berlin; and, moreover, when Jewish students could not hope to secure degrees except in the faculty of medicine. Aside, however, from the Jewish interest which attaches to such biographical research, admirers of Kant's genius will discover in these letters numerous personal references and revelations of his character and temperament which otherwise would scarcely have been suspected.

In Kant's letters to Moses Mendelssohn and Markus Herz, husband of the beautiful and accomplished *salon* leader, Henriette, there is a tone of intimacy which bespeaks more than mere friendship. Some of these messages are lengthy, especially as compared with the short notes penned to other correspondents; and one, written to Herz in 1772, is a veritable dissertation. David Friedländer, one of Mendelssohn's co-operators in the Enlightenment movement, was another correspondent of the famous Kant, and the erratic but profound and erudite Salomon Maimon, whose autobiography Goethe regarded as a unique document of human achievement, also had made the epistolary acquaintance of the celebrated Königsberger. There were other Jews whom

Kant apparently knew well, but the references are too slight to take account of.

If the promptness with which a man replies to correspondents can be taken as an indication of his regard for them, it may be gathered that Mendelssohn stood in high favor with Kant. The salutation, too, in those days, as also the conclusion of the letter, so much more varied than in our own time, served to show what attitude the writer assumed toward his correspondent. Mendelssohn was addressed often as " Venerable Sir," while Herz drew such salutations as *hochedler Herr, theuerester Freund,* and unmistakably fond phrases in the body of the letters.

We might have supposed that all of Kant's correspondence, or at least the bulk of it, was of a metaphysical nature. But the most profound mind of modern times was not altogether out of touch with the real world, and gave much of his time toward furthering the interests of students and friends. Mendelssohn and Herz, both patrons of promising talents, were frequently making demands on the old philosopher's energy. On one occasion, Kant jestingly complains of the burden imposed on him in the midst of his own gigantic projects which, considering his physical weakness, he almost despairs of carrying to fruition. We must remember that, as the recognized

leader of philosophical thought in all Europe, Kant must have been deluged with letters and books from all parts of the world.

With his Jewish friends, however, there was an exchange of amenities which benefited not a few promising youths. In his first letter, or rather reply to Mendelssohn (Kant: *Gesammelte Schriften,* vol. X, page 64), Kant tells the " modern Socrates " that Mendel Koshmann had " brought me the Jewish student Leo together with your letter of introduction," and that this student, because of his neglect to observe certain Jewish rites, had not shown himself to advantage in the eyes of the Jewish community at Königsberg. Kant, therefore, asks Mendelssohn to act as Leo's preceptor, especially as the former's assistance is necessary; and in anticipation of this, Kant had already made some remarks in keeping with the situation. It is doubtful whether this young man deserved the attention shown him by two of the greatest men of all times; for Kant had held Mendelssohn in such high esteem that a mere word on someone's behalf would elicit a ready response in the form of special privileges conferred on the person spoken for.

Many are the letters in which Kant, whose name has become a synonym for philosophy, expresses his admiration for Moses Mendelssohn.

Not only has he honored the Dessau sage with a lengthy passage in the first edition of his classic work, even though this passage was a refutation of Mendelssohn's chief argument for the existence of the soul after death, but he scarcely misses an opportunity to dwell on the celebrated Jew's mental and moral accomplishments.

Writing in 1776 to Markus Herz, Kant mentions as "our greatest analysts" Baumgarten (his teacher) and then Mendelssohn and Garve. (*Loc. cit.*, vol. I, page 184.) The reference to Mendelssohn in another letter, written in 1777, is even more flattering. "To-day both you and . . . my esteemed friend, Herr Mendelssohn, are making your departure. To be in constant and intimate association in Königsberg with such a man, of so gentle a disposition, such good humor and so brilliant a mind would afford me that soul nourishment which I must be wholly deprived of here and which I badly miss as I grow older." (*Ibid.* page 196.)

Although Kant was frequently consulting his former pupil, Herz, now a noted physician, about his own minor ailments, he on more than one occasion showed his solicitude for Mendelssohn, who was suffering from nervous prostration and had been obliged to place himself under the care of his erstwhile *protégé*. Thus, Herz was treating

both Kant, his mentor (through advice in letters), and Mendelssohn. When Herz wrote Kant that Mendelssohn was compelled to lay aside the famous *Critique,* the author expressed his regret in the following words: "That Herr Mendelssohn has laid aside my book is very unpleasant news for me, but I hope that it will not be forever. He of all is the most important man who could enlighten the world in this regard, and it is on *him,* Herr Tetens and yourself, my dear friend, that I have counted most of all." In the same letter, Kant urges Herz to acquaint Mendelssohn with the regimen that he himself had followed with some success for several years, and which, "considering the similarity of the studies and the partially resulting ill-health, might serve to restore to the learned world such an excellent man who rightly has withdrawn from it so long as he finds that such occupation disagrees with his health." After explaining his practice, he closes by saying, "I am personally interested in this counsel which I am giving to a superior man, who certainly does not need my advice; for his genius . . . " (the rest is missing). (*Ibid.,* page 253.)

The most direct eulogy, however, of Mendelssohn is contained in a letter written in 1783, when Kant apologetically tells the Jewish philos-

opher that there are few who could think ahead and at the same time put themselves in the place of the readers in order to adapt their mode of discourse accordingly. "*Es ist nur ein Mendelssohn.*" (*Ibid.*, page 323.) Proceeding to the discussion of Mendelssohn's *Jerusalem,* Kant writes: "Herr Friedländer will tell you with what admiration of your subtlety, elegance and wisdom I have read your *Jerusalem.* I consider this book the herald of a great reform, which will affect not only your own nation, but also others. You have succeeded in combining your religion with such a degree of freedom of conscience as was never imagined possible, and of which no other faith can boast. You have, at the same time, so thoroughly and clearly demonstrated the necessity of unlimited liberty of conscience in every religion, that ultimately our Church will also be led to reflect how to remove from its midst everything that disturbs and oppresses conscience, which will finally unite all men in their view of the essential points of religion." (*Ibid.*, page 325.)

Moses Mendelssohn was not only the most outstanding Jew of the age. He not only was the confidant of Lessing, whose *Nathan the Wise,* as is well-known, is the portrayal of the Dessau Jew, but is the man who, of all his contemporaries, was probably most admired by Immanuel Kant. It is

difficult from our present standpoint properly to estimate the extent of Mendelssohn's influence in high circles or to appreciate the bounty of his soul and the effectiveness of his endeavors. Indeed, when we stop to consider the plight of the German Jews in general, their servile position in Prussia, their political disabilities throughout the world, we must marvel that such men as Moses Mendelssohn and Markus Herz, who remained true to their faith till their dying day, were able to wield such power in the cultural life of Prussia. To think that the Prussian minister of state, von Zedlitz—the man who was in authority next to Frederick the Great—was an auditor at Herz's private lectures on anthropology (which would correspond to psychology now-a-days) simply because Mendelssohn stood sponsor for Herz's capability! And Kant, after being insistently urged to accept a call to Halle, surmised that von Zedlitz, who made the offer, enumerating a list of advantages which would have accrued to the Königsberg philosopher by changing his post, was at least indirectly actuated in this move by the high esteem in which he held Mendelssohn's and Herz's opinions. (*Ibid.*, page 216.)

Mendelssohn, who predeceased his greater contemporary by eighteen years, cherished Kant's friendship and prized his depth of mind, but there

are to be found in his correspondence traces of a feeling that Kant, though profound in his analyses, lacked the necessary breadth to render his investigations free from all cavil. In two or three instances, he betrays a wish for a greater cultural perspective on the part of Kant—a quality which he doubtless discerned in Herder (who, however, was deficient in depth) and would have found in Hegel, although he would have missed in him the careful and sound procedure and the accurate information which so distinguished Kant's philosophy.

Kant and Mendelssohn were truly worthy of each other, and though the latter has been rated by posterity as much inferior to the author of the three *Critiques,* it must be remembered that Moses of Dessau was regarded by the profoundest man of his century, and possibly of many centuries, as his peer in many respects.

CHAPTER XIX

KANT AND THE APPOINTMENT OF JEWISH PROFESSORS [1]

In a previous chapter, I have, as I hope, abundantly shown that the great Immanuel Kant, friend of Mendelssohn, Herz, Friedländer and other Jews, was a man of most liberal-minded tendencies. Kant's epigones, in spite of their fervid idealism, did not inherit, if the word may be used in this sense, his tolerant spirit. Fichte was known to entertain anti-Semitic notions. Hegel, while not unfriendly to the Jews, looked upon Judaism as a kind of stunted Christianity. Fries was violent in his prejudice, and Schopenhauer never missed an occasion to link the Jews with his over-awing cosmic Will. Kant alone stands out as the true impassive philosopher who views peoples and races, to employ Spinoza's phrase, *sub specie æternitatis,* or to borrow the impressive title of Nietzsche's book, as " beyond good and evil."

With what surprise then do we read in such a standard work as the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* under

[1] This chapter first appeared, as an article, in 1924.

the name "Euchel," the statement that "A proposal to appoint him (*i. e.,* Euchel) professor of Oriental languages at the University of Königsberg was resisted by Kant, as dean of the faculty of philosophy, on the ground that it is hardly possible for a Jewish teacher of the Hebrew language to abstain from the rabbinic expositions to which he has been accustomed from his youth." The wonder is still greater because the article in which this information is found bears the initials of Adolph Kohut, presumably the author of *Berühmte israelitischen Männer*—a work in, two volumes, of high merit.

It is difficult to surmise the source of Kohut's data, but from the evidence to be found in Kant's collected works, it would appear that the reverse is true, and the least we can do to honor the memory of this most profound mind, on the occasion of the two hundredth year of his birth, is surely to remove the reflection, slight though it be, which the apparent mis-statement in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* would tend to cast upon the good sense of the philosopher who formulated the Categorical Imperative and followed his own rigorous teaching so religiously.

As a matter of fact, Kant's letters reveal an unusual breadth of view and high-mindedness, even when judged from our own angle and in the

light of present circumstances. As dean of the philosophical faculty and rector of the University, Kant received two requests from Jews to be allowed to give instruction in the Semitic languages. We must remember that a hundred and fifty years ago, Jews were not even permitted to attend the university as regular students, except in the faculty of medicine. As to receiving teaching appointments, need it be mentioned that even in the twentieth century, the most renowned scholars and scientists could not secure professorships in a German university, if they were Jews and would not renounce their faith? Indeed, had not the World War brought on the collapse of the German Empire, a Jewish professor would still be a *rara avis* in a country where the Jews have made such monumental contributions to the culture of its people.

Kant Unfavorable to Jewish Convert

In January, 1786, Kant, as dean, addressed a letter to the faculty in which he tells of a wandering Orientalist by the name of Wiener, who was the bearer of three sealed testimonials, one from Lemberg, and two from Würzburg, stating that he was well versed in Hebrew and Chaldean and in monastic affairs, and on the strength of this

wished to be appointed teacher in Semitics at the University. But the philosopher was not to be taken in very easily. " Since he seems to have no knowledge of any other studies than possibly these two languages," proceeds Kant, " and admits himself that he has not mastered enough Latin to write his minor thesis, and therefore appears to be a converted Polish Jew, and particularly as he is asking for aid which, judging from his outward appearance, he may well be in need of, I should suggest that instead of allowing him to *teach,* a *viaticum* [pocket money given to wanderers] be handed him, according to the pleasure of each of the worthy members of the staff, in which case, I should inform him in regard to his procedure.

" Should, however, his request appear to merit attention, the worthy Hebrew (*'Excell. Hebræus'*) will be good enough to give evidence of his ability, to which end I should then send him to Herr Doctor the Ordinary Professor at the hour which he may appoint." (Kant: *Gesammelte Schriften,* vol. XII, page 450.)

It is not difficult to see that Kant was unfavorably impressed with this scholar, in spite of the testimonials, and far from recommending him because of his having embraced Christianity, he was rather suspicious of his attainments and distrustful of his intentions. In years gone by, the

converted Jew was always at an advantage in that he needed to know little Hebrew in order to outshine the non-Jewish scholar, and furthermore served as both an informer and a decoy, though usually unsuccessful in the latter capacity. The contemptible Pfefferkorn, ignorant though he proved to be in every respect, was yet able to befuddle the Dominicans, who took him to be a former rabbi.

Kant's practical suggestion to offer the man a money contribution and bid him " Godspeed " was evidently well taken, and we hear nothing of Herr Wiener subsequently.

Recommends Jew to Instructorship in Hebrew

On the other hand, and Dr. Kohut's version in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* to the contrary, the celebrated philosopher, as rector of the University, was disposed to have Isaac Abraham Euchel [1] appointed to a temporary lectureship in the Semitic languages, which in those days was a rather bold innovation.

[1] Euchel, by the way, as was recently brought out, was the author of a comedy in Judeo-German, entitled *Reb Henach, oder was tut man damit?*—the forerunner of the modern Yiddish play.

In order to set this mooted point clearly before the reader, the whole communication of Kant with respect to Euchel's request is subjoined here in an English translation. The letter, dated February 20, 1786, reads as follows:

"The Jewish student, Herr Euchel, who has already made his reputation as author[1] of a Hebrew periodical" (Kant is here referring to *Ha-M'assef* which was the organ of the Berlin *Haskalah* group) "has presented himself to me with a request that, inasmuch as Herr Prof. Koehler's resignation had been accepted, as he had learnt from him personally, he be allowed during the vacancy to instruct a group of students in the Hebrew language. Since this branch of study is being wholly neglected and will likely have to continue so for a considerable period, there is no doubt that the theological faculty would not be averse[2] to this temporary administration of the

[1] Probably used in the sense of editor.

[2] The German original brings to light a slip of the pen on the part of Kant which would be considered highly significant by Freud and his disciples. Instead of the words *nicht ungern,* the phrase, as it appears in the letter, reads *nicht gern,* which, of course, reverses the meaning of the sentence and contradicts Kant's intention. Psychoanalysis, in Freud's sense, would interpret this slip as signifying that subconsciously, or unconsciously, Kant was aware that the theological faculty would not in reality countenance such a proposal. The slip then was a breaking through of an unconscious idea or even wish on the part of Kant, though manifestly his attitude was

Oriental chair, even if by a Jewish scholar, especially as he, of his own accord, agrees to interpolate no exegesis in his instruction but to confine himself to a thorough mastery of the language. I, therefore, request the decision of the esteemed faculty in this matter. In my judgment, since I know this capable young man as one of my auditors, there would be nothing to hinder him as a master of the language from giving this instruction, and in fact he might even be allowed, in order to bring this the more readily to the attention of the students, to announce the fact on the blackboard [that he would serve] in this capacity, *viz.,* as a master of the language. The unusualness of the circumstance cannot be introduced as an objection, seeing that it is also unusual for our University to lack all the accessories in a necessary branch of instruction for a considerable period of time." (*Ibid.,* page 450.)

It can hardly be said from this phrasing that Kant resisted Euchel's candidacy, and if the Hebrew scholar's application was rejected after three months' waiting, the blame surely cannot rest with Kant, though it fell to his lot, as rector, to apprise the applicant of the final decision of the academic

favorable. Needless to say, I am not in sympathy with such an interpretation of slips of the pen, even if the Freudian literature on this subject is extensive and enjoys considerable vogue.

senate, which is quoted here in full as a remarkable document.

THE UNIVERSITY TO ISAAC ABRAHAM EUCHEL (Draft)

May 24,1786.

"The Rector and Senate of the University at Königsberg beg to inform the Jewish student, Euchel, with regard to his application dated April 10, that although there is not the slightest doubt about his knowledge and competence to teach Hebrew, of which the enclosed specimens give manifest proof, his request nevertheless cannot be granted on our part. Even if the broadened mode of thinking of our time allows many things which were forbidden by the more restricted, yet suitably wise, principles of our ancestors in the light of the circumstances of the time—for all that, our University, like every other, continues to be bound by the statutes of its charter, so long as these have not been changed at the instance of the highest authority. Now, according to the expert report of the philosophical faculty with regard to this application, the statutes read: first, that no one is to be granted the privilege of teaching by this faculty unless he has specialized in it, having been promoted, however, beforehand, with this

end in view, to the master's degree; secondly, that this candidate for the master's degree must on request be able to acknowledge himself on oath as belonging to the Christian faith. Since this latter condition does not enter into the intention of the present application, the *studiosus* Euchel will obviously gather that the same cannot be granted on our part."

A remarkable feature about this carefully worded letter is the fact that Kant's signature is not attached to it, and the words *Rector et Senatus der Universitaet zu Königsberg* are written in another hand. It would seem as if the liberal rector could not bring himself to assume total responsibility for this decision, which was naturally forced on him; and the probability is that the composition of the document was not wholly his. At any rate, this letter, which may be found toward the end of the third volume of Kant's correspondence, in the German edition of his collected works, should not be interpreted as coming from Kant's own dictate, but was inspired by the wish of the senior members of the faculty.

Had Euchel received the appointment, he very likely would have been the first observing Jew to hold a teaching position in any university; and Kant may be regarded, in this connection, as the most tolerant academic spirit of his age.

CHAPTER XX

KANT AND HIS JEWISH CORRESPONDENTS

It is almost a commonplace that nearly every great philosopher since Plato has had a distinguished Jewish following. Such names as Philo Judæus and Ibn-Gabirol are, in every respect, as representative of Neo-Platonism as that of Maimonides is a worthy reminder of Aristotle. Only the scholar could be interested in the long list of celebrated thinkers and the far larger number of famous Jews who were influenced by them.

There is Leibniz, who was accepted by Mendelssohn through the medium of Baumgarten. Hume, the hard-headed Scotchman, appealed to the eccentric Salomon Maimon, who, as we shall see, was possessed of an extraordinary mind. Fichte[1] was sponsored by Ferdinand Lassalle and later by Münsterberg. Hegel counted among his disciples not only Gans, but, among the "left"

[1] As fate would have it, the best biography of this anti-Semitic philosopher is the voluminous work of the Franco-Jewish thinker, Xavier Léon, editor of the *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*. This work *Fichte et son temps* is not yet complete, although two volumes, aggregating 1,200 pages, have already appeared.

of his *coterie,* the much keener Karl Marx, and in the strictly Jewish camp, the father of Jewish science—Nachman Krochmal. Schopenhauer's chief doctrine was in practice more consistently carried out by Weininger and Mainländer than by the master himself, who found it more convenient to drown his *Weltschmerz* in art than in suicide. Even Nietzsche found in Oscar Levy his chief exponent. Indeed, I should hardly be surprised to learn that St. Thomas Aquinas, the great mainstay of the Catholic Church, had his Jewish followers, just as he himself greatly esteemed the philosophy of Maimonides and Ibn-Gabirol (Avicebron). With the usual irony attending the fate of the Jews, Spinoza is perhaps the only philosopher of high rank who had not left his impress on subsequent Jewish metaphysicians, though men like Goethe, Jacobi, Coleridge and others drew their inspiration from his *Ethica.* Spinoza, nevertheless, has had a host of admirers among the Jews; and some of his best commentators and editors are Jews (Freudenthal, Joachim, Wolf).

As to Kant, the Aristotle of modern times, we may say that not only did he number among his enthusiasts several Jews of note, but his whole attitude toward the Jewish people, as well as his friendly intercourse with some of its represen-

tatives, does his name credit, for anti-Semitism is not necessarily incompatible with philosophy. Indeed, it seems as if the more idealistic and even religious the philosophy, the less appreciative or tolerant is it of the people which gave the world its three greatest religions and some of its finest philosophers.

The secluded ghetto life of the German Jews, nearly two hundred years ago, apparently did not stem their hankering for knowledge. Berlin was the great cultural center of Eastern and Central Europe, but the restrictions against the Jews in the residence town of Frederick the Great were weighing heavily on these truth seekers. Königsberg was the fortunate place to be illumined by that beacon whose light still shines forth with undimmed effulgence, and possibly through the influence of this liberal-minded Titan, the Jewish students found in Kant's university an intellectual haven, which in a short time turned out to be for them a philosophical paradise.

Kant's Dissertation Defended by Jewish Student

That Kant took a kindly interest in his Jewish students may be gathered from a letter in which he tells Mendelssohn of receiving "the Jewish

student Leo," who was brought by Mendel Koshmann, evidently a member of the community at Königsberg. In the same letter, the founder of the Critical Philosophy suggests that Mendelssohn act as Leo's preceptor, in consequence of some religious breach of which the latter had made himself guilty in the eyes of the local Jews. But it is far more interesting to observe that for his formal disputation prior to his appointment to the chair of logic and metaphysics, Kant chose for his assistant to defend him Markus Herz, whom he describes to von Fuerst, the Minister of State and War, as a " Jewish medical student of merit." (*Gesammelte Schriften,* vol. X, page 91.)

Indeed, Herz might well have felt proud to see the name " Marcus Hertz,"[1] with the inscription *" Berolinensis, Gente Iudæus, Medicinæ et Philosophiæ Cultor "* printed in large type on the title page of Kant's dissertation (*De Mundi Sensibilis atque Intelligibilis Forma et Principiis* 1770), which was dedicated to Frederick the Great. The designation of Herz as belonging to the Jewish people is particularly to be noted, as Schreiber, Stein and Schroeter, Kant's opponents, on the formal occasion preliminary to his

[1] The later spelling of Marcus, in German, is Markus, and the "t" before the "z," as in the case of "Leibnitz," and other names in which this combination occurs, has subsequently been omitted.

DE

MUNDI SENSIBILIS

ATQUE

INTELLIGIBILIS

FORMA ET PRINCIPIIS.

DISSERTATIO PRO LOCO

PROFESSIONIS LOG. ET METAPH. ORDINARIAE RITE SIBI VINDICANDO,

QUAM

EXIGENTIBUS STATUTIS ACADEMICIS

PUBLICE TUEBITUR

IMMANUEL KANT.

RESPONDENTIS MUNERE FUNGETUR

MARCUS HERTZ,

BEROLINENSIS, GENTE IUDAEUS, MEDICINAE ET PHILOSOPHIAE CULTOR,

CONTRA OPPONENTES

GEORGIUM WILHELMUM SCHREIBER,

REG. BOR. ART. STUD.

IOHANNEM AUGUSTUM STEIN,

REG. BOR. I. U. C.

ET

GEORGIUM DANIELEM SCHROETER,

ELBING. S. S. THEOL. C.

IN AUDITORIO MAXIMO

HORIS MATUTINIS ET POMERIDIANIS CONSUETIS

D. XXI. AUG. A. MDCCLXX.

TITLE PAGE OF KANT'S INAUGURAL DISSERTATION,
DEFENDED BY MARKUS HERZ.

appointment as ordinary professor, whose names also appeared on the title page, apparently belonged to the clerical wing in the University.

That this dissertation is of no mean consequence may be gathered from the fact that an English translation, prepared by J. Handyside, was brought out last year in America by the Open Court Publishing Company in Chicago. The original title page with Herz's name is reproduced in this volume.

Kant's correspondence with Herz dates from 1770, and it appears that no other of his correspondents enjoyed the confidence of the great teacher to the extent that Herz did. Even Mendelssohn, whose intimate friendship with Kant is dwelt on in Chapter XVIII, did not occupy such an exalted place in the philosopher's affections as Herz; and students of Kant must turn to these letters between Kant and Herz for the clearing up of many points relative to the former's life and works. We find, for instance, in a very long letter written in 1772, that Kant had already been working on his monumental *Critique,* which was to treat of both pure and practical reason. Kant's opinion of Herz's work was flattering, perhaps too much so; yet one feels that not a single utterance in these letters but was actuated by sincere sentiments. Herz must have been an engaging

personality; for Mendelssohn, writing to Kant from Berlin in 1770, assures him that he will do all in his power to further the interests of his pupil. "I love him truly and have the pleasure of enjoying his very entertaining company almost every day. It is true that nature has done much for him. He possesses a bright mind, a tender heart, a balanced imagination and a certain subtlety which seems to be a trait of the Nation" (referring to the Jews).

While it is indisputable that Herz left no mark on the history of philosophy, in spite of Kant's high expectations, we must remember that, as a successful physician, he could not devote much time to the academic studies of which he often spoke with a thrill. Indeed, it was to be marvelled at that, burdened as he was with a heavy practice and strenuous social duties, he could find time to give courses in physics and (what would now be called) psychology, which members of the nobility, the cabinet and even royalty attended.

Herz's Labors

Graetz in his *History of the Jews,* I am afraid, is not sufficiently appreciative of Herz's gifts. Naturally, in the presence of such a luminary as Mendelssohn, Herz's attainments could not but

appear in a dim light, but let us remember that Kant's judgment of his brilliant pupil was not to be taken lightly. If Herz is remembered only because of his association with Kant, the waning of his fame is to be attributed to his professional success. In the first volume of what is probably the oldest psychological journal in the world, I have discovered a long letter of Herz to a fellow physician in Königsberg, in which he describes most minutely his state of mind during a protracted illness—an account which even to-day would constitute a valuable contribution to introspective psychology.[1] In this *Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde* (vol. I, part II, page 47), we catch a glimpse of Herz's daily activities prior to the onset of an all but fatal fever.

"All of the three months previous," Herz writes, "I had been engaged in the preparation of my courses. My lectures had commenced; and with every succeeding lecture, the wholly unexpected applause of a large number of auditors, representing all classes, increased my working impulse and the strain on my health. The hours that my practical affairs allowed me for leisure, I spent unin-

[1] Herz's work on dizziness (*Versuch über den Schwindel*), which I found among the books belonging to the late Professor Münsterberg, is a masterly little book, of some consequence even at the present time.

terruptedly on preparing the next and following lectures, or again, I wrote a compendium to be printed for my auditors, expanded it, corrected it, then revised it, changed it again, and finally was obliged to make more corrections."

As if this were not enough, his wealthy Portuguese father-in-law was confined to the house on account of a slight but annoying trouble, and Herz was obliged to take charge of the greater part of his affairs. In addition, he had as many as thirty patients a day to attend, outside of hospital engagements. It goes without saying that he worked from early morning till very late at night. During this period he was also compiling his medical encyclopedia.

Kant, who was not robust and was growing more and more feeble with increasing age, thought highly of Herz's medical skill; he consulted him about his health in almost every letter and recommended him to some of his friends of high rank.

Herz's letters to Kant were marked by a tone of deep veneration for his "unforgettable teacher." He seems responsive to every gesture of the great man, and is always eager to inform the Königsberger of what is happening in Berlin intellectual circles. Of Mendelssohn he writes frequently. In one letter he speaks of Mendels-

sohn's translating fourteen psalms into German (September, 1770); in another he tells of Mendelssohn's nervous breakdown (July, 1771). A solemn note, indeed, is struck in the letter of February 27, 1786, when Herz decries the commotion caused by Mendelssohn's death in the circles of preachers, enthusiasts, poetasters, musicians, etc. —men who did not appreciate the philosopher while he was alive. "If only a man like you," he writes to Kant, "were to call out to this wretched mob a single, serious word—'Silence' —I wager they would scatter like chaff before the wind."

He imputes the whole manœuvre to a gesture by the "*Geheimrat zu Pimplendorf,*" which I take to be a parody of Jacobi's title, "*Geheimrat zu Duesseldorf*" (*i. e.,* privy councillor, etc.), and pleads with Kant to rebuke the followers of Jacobi who in his zeal to prove that the author of *Nathan the Wise* was a Spinozist, had grieved Mendelssohn by publishing, though unauthorized, some of the private correspondence between Lessing and the former. Herz reminds his teacher that he had not answered Mendelssohn's last letter, in which the grievance was discussed. It so happened that three years later Jacobi complained to Kant about an injustice done to Mendelssohn by the Berlin preacher, Jenisch, who, in

his edition of the Jewish philosopher's minor works, put into Kant's mouth a bit of pleasantry which the latter disavowed with the following words: "that the alleged *bon-mot* cited by Herr D. Jenisch, Berlin preacher, in his edition of Moses Mendelssohn's *Minor Philosophical Writings* (page 55), never came from my lips or from my pen, nor has it ever occurred to me, nor could it ever have passed through my mind." (*Ibid.*, vol. XI, page 109.)

Throughout this document Herz refers to the deceased as "our Moses." Engaged in the arranging of Mendelssohn's manuscripts, he requests Kant to lend him Mendelssohn's letters for publication.

At times Herz falls into a sentimental mood in reminiscence of his philosophical studies with Kant. How he languishes for the very presence of his master, he writes in a letter dated Nov. 25, 1785 (Kant: *Gesammelte Schriften,* vol. X., page 402), and were it not for the "presence of your portrait in my house, which I gaze at whenever I have to think and inquire after the truth, and which seems to smile at me with every result gained in thinking and inquiring, I hardly could have endured these fifteen years without making a trip to Königsberg to spend, once more in my life, at least twenty-four hours in the company of

my esteemed teacher and friend. Ah! those were the days, when I lived, moved and had my being (*lebte und webte*) in my dear philosophy and Kant, when each day I would feel more complete and educated than the day before! . . . But the days are gone by. Now it's all different. The practical life of a physician is the most uneasy and burdensome for both mind and body. The empiric whose heart is never bound up with reason is, so far as he himself is concerned, most fortunate." (Herz means here that the routine practitioner, who in his day often had no medical degree, is not diverted by cultural demands.) "The judgment of the masses is based on success, which must frequently lie beyond the power of the artist; their approval and disapproval largely flow from the impurest sources: envy and jealousy, superstition and low spirits, preconceived favor and disfavor, likes and dislikes for facial features, voice, gestures, dress, appearance, etc. In short, all the value or insignificance which they attach to the artist rests on inessential and accidental things over which training and reason have no jurisdiction."

Herz's Wit

In spite of this occasional outburst of pessimism, Herz seems to have been the possessor of a jolly disposition and a sociable nature. For a Jew to have the title of "*Hofrat*" 150 years ago, more than mere medical skill was necessary; and it is not unlikely that Herz's *esprit* was of some account in making him *persona grata* among the *élite* of Berlin. The following anecdote, which I take from Kohut's *Berühmte israelitischen Männer,* is characteristic of the man. A Jewish wag, who wanted to amuse himself at the expense of Herz, once remarked that the initials on the physician's carriage must surely stand for "*Malakh ha-moves*" (angel of death). "Not so, my friend," countered Herz, "they stand for *M'khaye ha-maysim* (reviver of the dead)."

Kant followed Herz's career with keen interest. In 1790, he acknowledges his pupil's brilliant work on taste "which I might have made use of—had it come into my hands earlier."

Polish Jew—Kant's Profoundest Critic

But we must not dwell too long on Herz. There were other Jews who had come in contact

with the hierarch of modern philosophy. The most remarkable of these is Salomon Maimon, whose autobiography is translated in many languages. When we think of this Polish or Lithuanian Jew, married at an age when most boys of to-day are still in grammar school, unfamiliar with the European alphabet till after the age of fifteen, and rising to the heights of the Transcendental Philosophy, we must look upon that period in Jewish history as one in which almost miraculous phenomena had occurred.

I shall not attempt to present the outstanding facts of this vagabond philosopher's life; but merely to show the potentialities of the Jews in Kant's age, it will be sufficient to narrate how Herz had sent to the famous man a bundle containing both a manuscript and a letter from Maimon, and how Kant, ailing and overburdened with work, was about to return the manuscript unopened just as he was obliged to do with many others, but a mere glance at the work revealed its excellence to him, and made him realize that " not only have none of my opponents understood me so well on the main issue but few alone were possessed of such acumen to deal with such profound inquiries as Herr Maimon." (Kant: *Ibid.,* vol. XI, page 49.) Herz had asked Kant for a testimonial to be included in Maimon's

IMMANUEL KANT
(1724–1804)

MARKUS HERZ
(1747–1803)

SALOMON MAIMON
(*c.* 1753–1800)

book, but the conservative philosopher thought it would not be good form to publicly commend and introduce a work which was directed mainly against his own philosophy. (*Ibid.,* vol. XI, page 54.) Yet he advised Maimon to publish the work in expanded form, and predicted that it would be favorably received by the intelligent public.

It appears that Maimon addressed several letters to Kant. In one of them he, together with Karl Philipp Moritz, whom he had joined as co-editor of the *Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde,* invites the venerable philosopher to contribute to their publication. (There is a great temptation at this point to tell of the meteoric life of Moritz, who died in the prime of life, but since he was not a Jew, I shall have to confine myself to the observation alone that, were it not for the endeavors of Moses Mendelssohn, this highly gifted philosophical writer, known especially for his psychological novel or autobiography, *Anton Reiser,* would have passed into the unknown beyond many years earlier; for it was Mendelssohn who successfully stove off Moritz's suicidal tendencies during his spell of depression.) If Kant did not comply with Maimon's and Moritz's request, we must remember that he wrote but very rarely for periodicals, even in his younger days.

Kant and Friedländer

The name of Friedländer, notwithstanding the strictures of Graetz in his *History of the Jews,* will always be associated with the *Haskalah* movement in Jewry, and it would not be far from accurate to look upon this leader as the father of Reform Judaism. The salient points of David Friedländer's career may be found in Graetz's work as well as in the *Jewish Encyclopedia.* (The sketch in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* is written by Ludwig Geiger.) At present we are concerned solely with his relationship to Kant.

Friedländer, who came of a well-to-do Jewish family in Königsberg, studied under Kant, and after marrying the daughter of the wealthy Jewish banker, Itzig, settled in Berlin, where he engaged in both intellectual and practical pursuits. He not only was one of the founders of the literary periodical *Ha-M'assef,* but was an able coadjutor to Mendelssohn, whom he succeeded as leader of the Berlin community, until his no doubt well-intentioned but misguided Germanizing tendencies became too flagrant and hazardous for the Prussian Jews. Though Graetz's judgment of Friedländer is marked by undue severity, it is certainly true that we cannot place him in the same category with Mendelssohn.

If the correspondence between Kant and Friedländer is rather scant, the reason is probably to be found in the circumstance that unlike Herz who, once settled in Berlin, never visited Königsberg, Friedländer made occasional trips to his native town and would, at such times, confer with his former teacher personally. As already shown in the chapter on Kant and Mendelssohn, the name of Friedländer occurs in a number of Kant's letters, in one of which, writing to Mendelssohn, Kant says: " H. Friedländer will tell you with what admiration of your subtlety, elegance and wisdom I have read your *Jerusalem*." It seems as if Friedländer would on occasion take messages to and from his Jewish friends in Berlin.

He who knows Kant from his metaphysical works alone will be surprised to read a rather detailed and businesslike letter to Friedländer, dated Nov. 6, 1787, in which he describes a spinning-wheel invented by a certain Boetticher, urging Friedländer to exert his efforts on behalf of the inventor. It is only one of the many acts of kindness which Kant had shown to those who appealed to him for assistance, and let it be said that Kant's services were never performed in a half-hearted way. In all of his requests on behalf of others there was a dynamic element displayed, not out of keeping with modern methods of scientific sales-

manship. When Friedländer's reply did not come for several weeks, Kant wrote to Herz inquiring about this missive. The careful philosopher had taken pains to supplement on the envelope, in apposition to the name Friedländer, the words "*famous Jewish merchant,*" because he was not sure whether his first name was David, and so was afraid that the "letter might reach a Christian whose name might also be Friedländer." He consequently wondered whether the description on the envelope might not have offended Friedländer.

It transpired, however, that Friedländer, who apparently was not so sensitive as some of his race-fellows to-day, had attended to the matter promptly, but was waiting till he could give the master a more favorable report. Meanwhile, he was doing his very best at least to obtain a grant for the inventor, even if the invention should not be serviceable, so that ability might be encouraged in a remunerative way. (*Ibid.,* vol. X, page 496.)

Bendavid—Promoter of Kant's Philosophy

Although Lazarus Bendavid (1762-1832) did not come into personal contact with the great leader of modern thought, he was one of the first to lecture on Kant's philosophy outside of Germany. At first he was allowed to hold forth in

one of the University of Vienna lecture halls, but later, when opposition arose, he withdrew to the palace of Count Harrach, where he was listened to by persons of high standing.

Wegeler, one of Beethoven's friends, tells in one of his letters how he had made futile efforts to induce the colossus of music to attend these lectures in 1795 or about that time. This information causes Vorländer to speculate in the *Kant-Studien,* 1926, whether the refusal was due to the composer's aversion for the lecturer or, as is more likely, to his deafness. Of course, either reason would be adequate to explain Beethoven's disinclination. Certainly a lecture to a man who was totally deaf would not be an event to look forward to, but add to this that the lecturer was a Jew and that Beethoven would not sit at the feet of any man, let alone a Jew, and furthermore that he would not mingle with the cultured *élite,* whom he considered pretentious—and the wonder is that Wegeler, who was a confidant of the morose genius, should have even considered the possibility of Beethoven's attending Bendavid's lectures.

Bendavid's stay in Vienna was brought to a close when a ruling against the sojourn of foreigners in that city came into force. He then returned to Berlin where he engaged in literary and academic activities. Among his friends and ac-

quaintances were Goethe, Zelter, Kästner, Heine, Börne and other illustrious men.

In addition to a number of philosophical works, one of which was crowned by the Berlin Academy, Bendavid wrote a work on the characteristics of the Jews and some critical essays on the Bible. One of his finest achievements was the elevation of the Jewish Free School, founded by Friedländer, to the best elementary educational institution in the country, so that Christian parents were eager to send their children to this house of knowledge. The school was closed one hundred years ago (in 1825) after the Prussian Government forbade Christian children to attend it.

It was probably contrary to Bendavid's principles to seek an introduction to the celebrated man whose philosophy he was popularizing both in Austria and in Germany, nor did he take the opportunity of writing to Kant, inquiring about some difficult points in his philosophical system. That none of Kant's friends, however, should mention the name of this disciple of his to the grand old man at Königsberg is strange.

Graetz in his *History of the Jews* appears to be somewhat prejudiced against Bendavid when he calls him pedantic and considers him a mere professor. The sketch by Ludwig Geiger in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* is not only more

sympathetic but presents a truer portrait of the thinker whose moral and intellectual gifts Heine extolled with poetic fervor.

Jews—Chief Representatives of Neo-Kantian Movement

To this day, the Kantian philosophy has found its warmest defenders and ablest exponents in Jews. In Germany, for a whole generation, Marburg, under the leadership of the profound and subtle Hermann Cohen, was the citadel of Neo-Kantianism. And now that the old leaders of the school—associates of Cohen—are all dead, there can be no doubt that Ernst Cassirer [1] one of Cohen's students and now professor at the University of Hamburg (declining a call to lecture at Harvard University some years ago), will shortly inherit the mantle worn by Cohen.[2]

In France, the Jewish philosopher, Léon Brunschvicg, holds a similar position as chief of the

[1] Cassirer's chief work *Substanzbegriff und Funktionsbegriff*, has recently appeared in an English translation. In general, he possesses Cohen's predilection for the ponderous, and like his master, he turns out impressive volumes marked by great comprehensiveness.

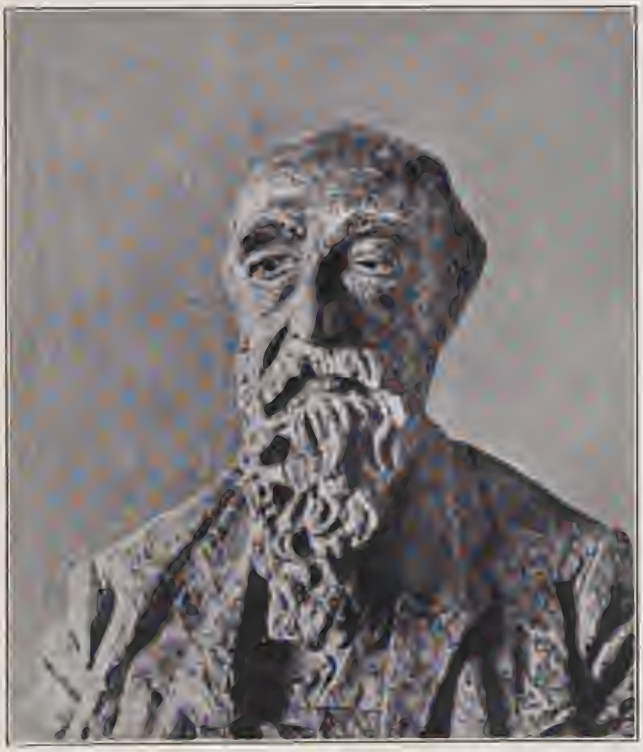
[2] Hans Vaihinger, the elaborator of the "as if" phase of Kant's philosophy, is still alive, and his famous work on useful fictions has recently been translated into English, but he is in his seventy-seventh year and no longer active.

Neo-Kantian school. Samuel Alexander, the foremost living philosopher in England, may be looked upon as a Kantian in many respects, though not in all [1]; and it would not be far from the truth to state that Einstein's views of space and time are corroborative of Kant's original theoretical deductions.

Of the non-academic Kantians, Ernst Marcus ranks as the most penetrating student of the critical philosophy. After thirty years of delving into the master's works, he has produced four volumes which have earned him the unstinted praise of recognized authorities.

Thus we note that Kant has had no mean following among the Jews—at any rate, he has exercised a much greater influence on Jewish thinkers than did Spinoza.

[1] In its total conception, Alexander's system savors rather of Spinoza's metaphysics, realistically interpreted.



SAMUEL ALEXANDER

(1859–)

From a bust executed by Jacob Epstein and placed in the University of Manchester.

(See Foreword, page 15.) Courtesy of *The Menorah Journal.*

CHAPTER XXI

KANT AND JUDAISM

In spite of Kant's friendly, even intimate communion with several outstanding German Jews, and his warm feelings toward the Jewish people as a whole, it cannot be said that he regarded Judaism as a religion of a high type.

Perhaps this attitude was to be expected on several grounds. First, there is the personal, or more accurately, the traditional reason. No matter how much the philosopher had emancipated himself from the dogmas of his Church, he could not view the situation as dispassionately as if he were an impartial observer. Secondly, however, there seemed something fundamental in his *Practical Reason,* which rendered him somewhat astigmatic in that respect, for we must realize that religion to Kant was an aspect of ethics.

Kant, as is well known, laid far more stress on the *intention* than on the *act.* " There is nothing good without qualification, except the good will." Naturally, then, the will is the all-important factor in ethics as well as in religion. But the Jewish precepts appear to lay more stress on the act,

so that religion and ethics take on a legal coloring in this light. Judaism, he argued, is not a faith, not even a Church, but a community—a body politic, and therefore not to be compared with Christianity which, in his eyes, was cosmopolitan and basic in operating the law from within, instead of enforcing mere statutes.

It would be futile to enter into the wrinkles of a controversy which might be drawn out interminably. Mendelssohn in his *Jerusalem,* even anticipating Kant's cavils, had already shown the value of *deeds* as against mere *faith* in the maintenance of a social order. More recently, Hermann Cohen came forth as a protagonist of Judaism, which he felt had been misinterpreted by his master. In an address entitled "Kant und das Judentum," delivered toward the end of 1907, before the *Gesellschaft für die Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums,* Julius Guttmann once more attempted to thrash out the issue; but, after all, one may ask whether it is worth while to dispute matters of religion; for, as in taste, "so many men, so many minds." Had Kant lived to read the many eloquent defenses of Judaism which followed Mendelssohn's masterly *apologia,* he most probably would still have harbored a certain distrust of the Jewish religion, unmindful of the barbarous age in which it was born and the con-

ditions in the desert which would make the imposition of a purely ethical religion absolutely impossible. Indeed, even to-day, the Church, with its promise of rewards and punishments in the hereafter, can hardly be spoken of as an ethical organization.

Kant, then, was merely partial to that form of religion in which he had been brought up. That is about as far as we may go in associating his name with Judaism. But to draw a line between Kantianism and Judaism, as some of the German professors have done lately, is altogether exceeding the bounds of moderation and common sense.

It was, therefore, not without astonishment that I learned at the International Congress of Philosophy, recently held at Harvard, that Professor Bauch of the University of Jena had made the assertion in one of his articles that no Jew could understand Kant. In fact, this sounded so unphilosophical[1] a statement that I expressed my doubts as to its authenticity, but my informant, himself a prominent European thinker, told further details of how the Jewish leaders of the *Kant-Gesellschaft* threatened to resign unless Pro-

[1] Since Hermann Cohen was the acknowledged head of the Neo-Kantian movement for many years, and Cassirer is recognized now as the virtual successor of Cohen, the anti-Semitic dictum must have struck many as absurd.

fessor Bauch qualified his words. I decided to look into Bauch's book on Kant. I could hardly have linked that well-groomed, mannerly, though a bit offish, blond young man [1] with an emotional reaction so violent as to percolate into his abstract philosophical writings. The evidence, however, was not long in appearing to this extent, at any rate, that the Jewish question was raised by Bauch and discussed at length. In an elaborate footnote, on page 350 of the cited work, Bauch allows himself to remark: "Certainly dozens of references could be adduced from Kant's writings and correspondence, proving that Kant had an intense aversion for many strikingly pronounced racial idiosyncrasies. That must of course be conceded."

It is curious that the Jena professor should have chosen not to document his rather emphatic avowal, but to rely on a report by Hamann to the effect that Kant was never enthusiastic about any of the heroes of this people. Hamann, it will be remembered from the chapter on Mendelssohn, was by no means a trustworthy interpreter of Kant's sentiments as regards the Jews. It is not altogether unlikely that Hamann, whatever might be said about his philosophical acumen—and at present he is but a name—pos-

[1] Although Professor Bauch is in his fifties, he looks as if he were scarcely forty.

sibly could never forgive the Jews for their treatment of his namesake, or perhaps he had developed a complex against the Jews because he bore such a ridiculous name. His animosity toward such a gentle soul as Mendelssohn would be sufficient to discredit the man in our eyes as a judge of matters Jewish.

Nor is Bauch content with this sally alone. It is evidently his aim to sanctify the master of German philosophy as a Teuton and a Protestant, and he would, therefore, not countenance the slightest suggestion that Kant's views could be set in accord with Judaism.

In the same work, Bauch takes it apparently amiss that Kroner, a rising German-Jewish historian of philosophy, should have found the *Jewish conception of an avenging and just God more in keeping with Kant's rigorous philosophy than the idea of a forgiving savior,* " as if," says Bauch indignantly, " vengeance and justice were inseparable, and justice, love and salvation irreconcilable, and as if Kant had been the philosopher of Judaism, and not of Christian Protestant morality and religion. All that is needed now," continues the Jena philosopher, with unphilosophical sarcasm, " is for him to be annexed to the secret synagogue community." (*Immanuel Kant,* 2d edition, page 341, footnote.)

Thus, it might appear that Kant's sympathies, had he lived to-day, would have gone out to the Hakenkreuzler, if we were to take Bauch's intimations seriously. Happily, there is enough material to indicate that the celebrated philosopher was anything but inimical to the people who had produced some of his dearest friends. In my review of Kant's voluminous correspondence, not a single passage had revealed itself to me in which there was any derogatory reference to Jewish traits, while, as I have had occasion to show, there were many proofs of his regard both for certain outstanding members of the race and for the Jews as a body.

CHAPTER XXII

THE DEEPEST MAN IN GERMANY

If the average intellectual Jew were asked who was the foremost living Jewish philosopher, he would probably answer, and not without foundation, " Henri Bergson, to be sure." Bergson's name has been heralded in the Anglo-Jewish press for more than a decade until it has now become, if not a household word, at least a forum stock-in-trade.

I have not come to undermine the strength of Bergson in Jewish circles, but to call attention to the genius of a Jew, at least by birth, who wades in the deepest waters of philosophy, where many are eager to follow, and yet few can keep pace with him.

If philosophy consists in hard thinking, then Husserl is the philosopher *par excellence;* for he has elaborated a system which is actually painful to review in all its details and implications. It has been reported that some of his students suffer nervous breakdowns in their endeavors to " think their way through " the long and ponderous course, and I have heard of at least one suicide because of the strain.

Bergson's philosophy does not impose such a burden on the student's mind. Society women, as is well known, discuss the *élan vital* and the rôle of intuition, over the teacups, but I cannot conceive of any lady, other than a deep-dyed blue stocking, ever being so much as interested in Husserl's *Phenomenology,* which is now ruling philosophical circles in Germany. It not only takes patience to fathom out the meaning of Husserl's terms, but it requires a certain perseverance which few individuals are endowed with. Small wonder that philosophers like William Stern and Ludwig Stein, themselves luminaries in the contemporary firmament of thought, send their sons to Husserl for training. If men of their eminence are eager to intrust their children to his philosophical care, we may well take it for granted that there is a basis for regarding Husserl as the most profound mind in a country known for its deep thinkers.

Husserl and Bergson, of course, cannot be compared. Although *born in the same year,* they are poles apart. They remind us of the Brisker *Rov* and the Bialer *Rebbe* in the well-known Chassidic sketch of Peretz. Bergson storms the world with his artistic conceptions, with his picturesque mode of expressions; Husserl introduces a philosophical revolution gradually but steadily by leaving no stone unturned in his minute investigations of the

contents of consciousness. Husserl is the typical "*pilpulist*," drawing distinction upon distinction; and when he has refined his logical process or method until every shade of difference is classified, he discovers that some terms he has not analyzed sufficiently and proceeds to revise his past work—a task which only an intellectual Hercules can undertake without faltering, in view of the nerve-racking course which such revision entails. It is characteristic of the man, too, that he has refrained from publishing a dozen or more bulky manuscripts, for fear that their contents have not been exhaustively ruminated and pondered upon.

This trait in itself should convince us that Husserl is not a "*pilpulist*" in the derogatory sense, not the man to indulge freely in mental gymnastics for the purpose of displaying his remarkable analytic faculty. It is *truth* which spurs him on to delve into the ultimate nature of our ideas, and this truth he believes to be immutable, quite independent of individual thinking.

There can be little doubt but that Husserl is a scholastic in his over-refinement of divisions, yet, since he enjoys a large following of brilliant men (like Scheler, Geiger, Pfänder, Jaspers and Kronfeld), his distinctions, or at any rate his method, must have impressed his disciples as valid. At times he strikes us like a diver lowering

himself in the deep sea of ideas where but few can remain long enough to perceive what he has seen. Deep thinking—and by deep thinking I mean, in this connection, following out a certain line of thought in all its implications—and delving underground are not only metaphorically alike; *they result in similar psychological and physiological effects, viz., choking sensations.* A person who is attempting to solve a difficult problem will frequently sigh and take a long breath as if short of air. In Peretz's masterly symbolic sketch, "Between Two Mountains," it will be remembered that when the Brisker *Rov* asks his former pupil, the Bialer *Rebbe,* why he escaped from his *yeshiba* (seminary), what he lacked there, the latter replied, "I lacked air. . . . I could not catch my breath. . . ."

Bergson, the "Bialer *Rebbe,*" takes out his *Chassidim* into the open, and by means of happy metaphor and an animated style, he paints for them a *creative* world. His disciples—and these are not confined to the profound class—are inspired. Whoever comes in contact with his felicitous turns is fascinated; and the enthusiasm spreads until his influence assumes universal proportions.

Not so Husserl, the Brisker *Rov,* who hems us in with a logical discipline which allows of no

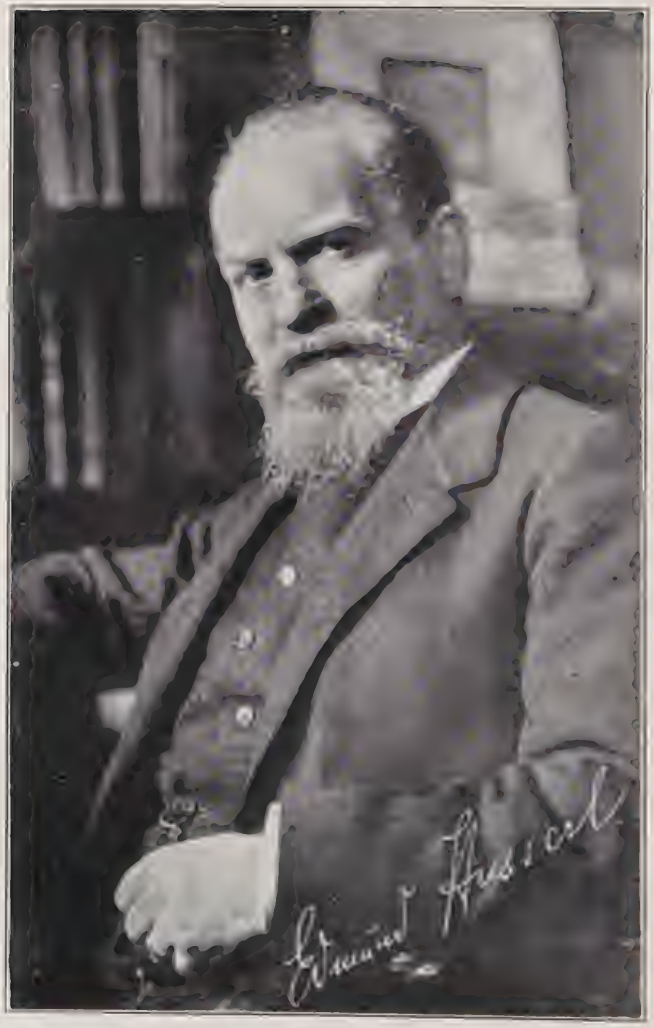
latitude. You cannot go a step farther until you have mastered the first elements of *Phenomenology,* that branch of philosophy which deals with the fundamental description of the consciousness of objects—a branch which came into being as a result of Husserl's labors. If you have not grasped the exact meaning of Bergson's "intuition," or his "*élan vital,*" or the precise connotation of his concept of Time (*Durée*), you at least may have sensed the drift of his philosophy, you may have half understood his terms. With Husserl, you either know or you do not know his distinctions; and his terminology with which he has hedged himself in offers a real obstacle to the most advanced students. For that reason Husserl's reputation has been restricted to philosophical circles, and fewer books have been written on his system.

It is most interesting to note that both Bergson and Husserl lay special stress on a word which is translated into English by the term "intuition," yet there is a world of difference between the two concepts designated by the same word. Bergson's "intuition" is connected with the *feelings and instincts;* Husserl's is the sensory basis of his rigid *logical procedure.* Bergson soars gracefully on the wings of his *intuition.* Husserl not only steps cautiously and firmly, but even turns corners

so that he might not find himself veering out of the path of his disciplinary method. Thus may the two greatest Jewish thinkers of our generation be contrasted in their philosophical make-up.

All the more striking, then, that this exacting and, seemingly, distant philosopher should wield a mighty influence, not only in Germany, but on the continent and in America. Pick up any modern German periodical or philosophical treatise and you will note the numerous references to this man, whose aim is to make out of philosophy a science. Often the index of a book will give us an idea of the standing of an authority in the field covered by the volume. Husserl's name appears in the index of many books with a few lines of page numbers as references. Another indication of his prestige is the fact that numerous doctoral dissertations have been written on his philosophy. Moreover, travelling fellows in philosophy from American universities are often sent to study a year or two with this super-analytical thinker, and American professors often sit at his feet. A recent German book, by Walter Ehrlich, has for its title *Kant und Husserl,* showing that this author considers the two, more or less, on an equal footing.

Aside from that, however, it must be obvious to everyone who has followed the recent move-



EDMUND HUSSERL
(1859-)

ments in Teutonic philosophy that Husserl's school is by far the most powerful in Germany and Austria; and not only are philosophers linking up their views with his *Phenomenology,* but even psychiatrists like Jaspers and Kronfeld, who are themselves leaders in their sphere of endeavor, align themselves with Husserl and attempt to show how the science of mental disease and the study of personality in all its divagations can be illuminated by the light of phenomenology. Even Freudians, who are, after all, concerned with the practical business of treating patients, have been looking for support of their teachings in the abstruse reasonings of this Moravian Jew. Need we be surprised that Husserl's seminar in Freiburg has attracted studious men and women from all parts of the globe and all classes of society as well as representatives of many faiths? Here can be seen a Franciscan monk sitting beside a well-known free thinker, a gray-robed nun next to a scion of an aristocratic family in England. These monks and nuns feel close to him. They are in some measure justified . . . but does he feel himself as close to them? This question leads up to the brief sketch of his life.

Edmund Husserl was born in Prossnitz, Moravia, in 1859, the son of Jewish parents. Early in life, he came under the influence of Franz Bren-

tano, the nephew of Bettina von Arnim (*née* Brentano) to whom Goethe had addressed his *Correspondence with a Child.* Brentano was a vigorous thinker, the father of a new movement both in philosophy and psychology; and although ordained as a priest, he would not allow his calling to interfere with his thinking. Brentano later gave up his orders but remained a true scholastic in his philosophical procedure. Whether Husserl's type of mind resembled his, to begin with, or whether Brentano's tutelage was so dominating, the former elaborated on the scholastic method of his master, until Brentano's actual achievement seemed insignificant beside that of his energetic pupil. But the irony of the intercourse of the two men is that while Brentano's Catholic faith weakened, Husserl found himself more and more in a new religious environment. Of late, however, the Catholic Church did not find in his lectures and seminars a source of inspiration for its votaries; and the stream of Catholic students was being diverted to the courses of the recently deceased Max Scheler, his former pupil and perhaps the most brilliant mind in Europe, whose teachings typified the subtlety of his mother's race but drew deliberately upon the presuppositions of his newly-embraced religion to such an extent that he was becoming recognized as

MAX SCHELER

(1874–1928)

Max Scheler's portrait is included on the assumption that he inherited the mental endowments of his mother, who was a Jewess.

a theoretical pillar of the Church, when he too was beginning to call forth suspicion in the eyes of the high dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church. Such is the romance of the faiths in this present century, although it is usually thought that only in the past did episodes like this take place.

But let us not linger on Scheler, whose system, for he has become the exponent of a new point of view, requires attention by itself. We must get a further glimpse of Husserl's great contribution to philosophy, which started with a searching analysis of the elements of arithmetic, a book written in 1891 and dedicated to his teacher, Franz Brentano. I found this book in William James's library, and from the pencil marks which the famous American philosopher was wont to leave in the books he read, I should gather that he studied Husserl's *Philosophy of Arithmetic* very carefully.

For a long period Husserl was professor at Göttingen, the chief mathematical center in Germany. It was there that he wrote his stupendous work, *Logische Untersuchungen* (first published in 1900), a second edition of which appeared in three volumes. In this work, the author lays down the method for the new discipline which he calls "Phenomenology" as the underlying basis of logic. His analysis of the facts of con-

sciousness renders him at times open to the criticism that he is not operating in the field of logic but is cultivating psychological soil. His rejoinder is that, on the contrary, the task which he has set himself consists in pruning away the irrelevant psychological considerations from his method, which is to retain only those facts that are universal, that must be admitted as elementary mental experiences by *all* who stop to "look into" their own minds, irrespective of individual conditions. Unlike other logicians, he employs the chief psychological method, *viz.*, introspection, in order to exclude psychology from the realm of logic, so that we might be in a position to deal with ideas, free from individual bias or personal flavors.

Husserl has edited some philosophical annuals and other periodicals, containing the ponderous writings of his leading pupils, but has published little during the last decade. Students of his who have just returned from Germany tell me that his publications constitute but a fraction of his writings—an interesting commentary on the man who has become the taskmaster of European philosophy. Thus, again, has the truth been demonstrated of the ancient saying: *"Non multa, sed multum."*

Postscript

From one of Husserl's closest friends, himself a philosopher of note, I have been able to learn that because of an anti-Semitic reaction to Husserl's philosophy in German academic circles, this leader in European thought begins to find himself in closer bond with his former brethren. As in their case, fate has not been kind to him. The most promising of his children, a son who, young as he was, had already made important contributions to science, was cut off while fighting for his Fatherland. Perhaps this explains both the delicate melancholy which tinges the features of the famed philosopher, as well as the fact that he has published practically nothing for years.

Nor do we miss the usual quip played by circumstances in the lives of such men. It is said that when his daughter married a young wealthy Jew of an orthodox family in high standing, the latter's family disowned him for marrying a Gentile. Thus is the philosopher, soaring in the abstract realms of ideas and verities, beset by all the concrete realities of life, complicated by political, social, family and religious considerations.

Husserl's personality is pre-eminently that of an inspiring teacher. There is a superficial austerity about his countenance, bespeaking perhaps the

rigor of his principles. His is a face which at once commands respect, and yet it does not overawe. I have had his photograph projected on a screen before a large and heterogeneous group of people, asking them to state their opinion about the man. In spite of the somewhat forbidding facial expression, his external personality was agreeable to practically every one of the hundreds assembled. His unmistakable intellectual superiority appears to be enhanced by his ethical aspect, disclosing a subtle suggestion of kindliness.

In honor of his seventieth birthday, a number of his disciples and former pupils have just brought out a commemorative volume *(Festschrift)* containing a dozen substantial contributions to the problems of phenomenology in its several aspects.

It is in this volume that Edith Stein, one of Husserl's most capable students, draws an interesting comparison between Husserl's Phenomenology and the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest philosopher Mediæval Christianity has produced and the mainstay of Roman Catholic religious thought. What links the Freiburg philosopher and the *Doctor Angelicus* together is the search for a universal, for an absolute and fundamental starting-point, which

the one finds in the immanent consciousness of man, purged of its subjective acquisitions, while the other seeks it in Faith, which naturally must point to God as the *fons et origo* of all, and creator of a perfect world. In Husserl's conceptual system, this world is only one of many possible worlds.

Comparisons between Husserl and some of the greatest minds of the past are not rare in the philosophical literature. Ehrlich's *Kant und Husserl* has already been alluded to. Let me now only mention the doctoral dissertation of H. S. Degener in Holland, which appeared under the title of *Proeve eener vergelijkende Studie over Plato en Husserl* ("Attempt at a Comparative Study of Plato and Husserl").

Another inaugural dissertation,[1] submitted at the University of Berlin by H. H. Grunwaldt, examines Husserl's Phenomenology in the light of the methods of investigation employed by Galileo.

[1] *Ueber die Phänomenologie Husserls,* etc. Berlin, 1927.

NOTE:—*The following essay originally was an address delivered by the author, then a student of twenty, before the McGill University Philosophical Club. An extended report of the paper read and the discussion which followed appeared in the* McGill Daily, *Nov. 25, 1912. We find there that the faculty members did not share the views of the young student, and took the stand that "the chief Jewish contribution to thought was possibly not along philosophical but along religious lines. It seemed to be necessary also for the Jew to get outside of his distinctive national characteristics and influences, as in the case of Spinoza, for example, before he could become essentially philosophical." It was further suggested that the Jewish mind was not suited to constructive, synthetic thinking, and that its forte was its analytic and critical attack.*

Although written eighteen years ago, in the immaturity of student days, and only after a year's dabbling in philosophy, the essay still represents the author's point of view on this subject, and it is reproduced here, with the exception of an occasional change of a word or phrase, in its original form, as a harbinger of a more elaborate work on the Jewish Contribution to Contemporary Philosophy.

It is, perhaps, interesting to note the germinal idea of the later researches along the lines of typology flickering then and there in this undergraduate lucubration.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE JEWISH SLANT ON PHILOSOPHY

I

PREAMBLE

Before going on to the paper proper, it may not be unprofitable to explain somewhat the title. I have no doubt that most of you will be surprised, or perhaps disappointed, on seeing the liberty I am taking with my subject. What is expected to-night, I should not hesitate to say, is an enumeration of Jewish philosophers or thinkers together with a brief exposition of their doctrines; but this I have especially avoided for various reasons.

If this were a Jewish nationalistic society or a Semitic club, or if it were my intention to defend the Jewish people against the prejudiced views of a Carlyle or Buckle or a Chamberlain, I should feel myself justified in giving a list of distinguished Jewish thinkers with reference to their works and importance. From that standpoint our task would be synthetic. Our society, however, is a philosophical one, and our subject must, there-

fore, be considered from the philosophical point of view. Accordingly, the mere cataloguing of Jewish philosophical authors would be analytic —it would really tell us nothing new; for as might reasonably be supposed, philosophy was contributed to by all civilized and cultured nations; and as the Jews are certainly included in these, it only follows logically that they have also had their share in the development of modern thought—whether much or little need not concern us here, since that would have no direct bearing on philosophy, although, of course, it would aid us in forming an estimate of the people in question.

Furthermore, the reading of papers in this Society is intended, I believe, to serve a threefold purpose: first, to give some information to the members on various matters; secondly, to enable us to express our views before professors and fellow-students; and thirdly, to raise some discussion with a view to gaining greater clearness on certain points. Now were I simply to read to you such facts as these: Philo Judæus was a Neo-Platonist, wrote on the *Logos* doctrine, Maimonides was an Aristotelian and wrote the *Guide of the Perplexed,* Mendelssohn was an eclectic, etc. —if I read to you such facts, our object would be totally defeated; for I doubt very much

whether anything would remain with you after hearing a long series of names. In the second place, no discussion could be raised since it is a matter of bibliography only, and should anyone differ, I would refer him to some history of philosophy or encyclopedia. Finally there could be no room, in that case, for independent thinking and judgment. At most, a paper like the one mentioned above might be called a compilation requiring very little intellectual activity.

The Problem Formulated

In order, therefore, to escape these difficulties which we might otherwise have fallen into, and to treat our subject synthetically as regards philosophy, we must ask ourselves not: What did the Jews contribute to philosophy? but: *How was philosophy influenced by them?* We must find out whether the Jews, to use a common but nevertheless expressive phrase in this connection, stamped a trade-mark of their own on that enormous mental structure—in other words, whether it is possible to distinguish specifically Jewish currents or trends in the great intellectual achievements of man. This I will endeavor to show as best I can in this little paper by, first of all, proving deductively, that is, arguing from

some supreme assumptions, that such national characteristics do exist in philosophy—so much for *Being,* or the " that " part—then, secondly, by adducing certain instances, to establish empirically what these purely Jewish characteristics consist in, that is to say, their essence, or the " what " part. As to the causes, let us leave these for future investigation in race psychology to explain.

* * *

It is obvious that the general principle from which we are about to start must needs involve the question whether philosophy and logic are universal, in the sense that certain conclusions must be held by everybody as necessary, and are independent of subjective influence. In answer to this question, we may readily admit that in the case of formal logic, once you grant its premises, there is hardly any room for difference of opinion; for this sort of inference, in reality, is based solely on quality, the principles of thought and quantity, and is inseparably connected with sense-perception; and very fortunately we differ but little in the constitution of our sensory organs, while should there be such individuals whose senses do not function in the same way as those of the majority, we should not hesitate for a moment to rule out their judgments. In other

words, we have a standard or a norm, and any falling short of this standard, or any excess, is regarded by us as abnormal. If anyone should see or hear what the vast majority of people do not perceive with their senses, we should be inclined to call that man a visionary or consider him to be troubled by hallucinations. If, on the other hand, he is not sensitive to certain stimuli that affect us, he is judged to be color-blind or blind or deaf, and the like.

It is a totally different case, however, when we talk of the principles underlying science, metaphysics, religion, and ethics. In this realm we do not and ought not to count the heads. Experience has shown us that one man may be ahead of the epoch he lived in and that he might have entertained notions that no one in his time could grasp. To learn this in its full significance is to admit at once that there are differently constituted minds, and not only to admit it but to justify this fact, whereas in matters of sense-representation we should always, without exception, look upon those with sense-organs differently constituted from those of the majority as inferior or defective.

Now the thesis, or, as perhaps some of you would call it, assumption underlying the deductive proof of the existence of specific national traits in philosophy is that *our views depend on*

our natural tendencies and not on their intrinsic value. What is meant here is that we do not come into the world with our mind a *tabula rasa,* ready to receive any views at all that might be thrust upon it. We enter life with certain predispositions; whether due to heredity or pre-natal influence during the development of the embryo need not be discussed here. Our main tendencies, both physical and intellectual, begin to form probably at the same time as our organs; and the tendencies become fully developed only afterwards in life, with observation and reflection, provided no sudden disturbances cause these inclinations or bents to deflect from their natural path. Character and temperament exert a tremendous influence on the intellectual proclivities of a man, in fact so much so, that we may say they vary as one another. Thus, it is far from the truth to say that Kant ordered his life in keeping with his Categorical Imperative after he deduced it logically. We might more reasonably assume that he drew up his famous maxim in accordance with his habits of life. (Numerous examples from the lives of philosophers might be cited illustrating the interdependence between their intellectual and physical bents).

It seems as if that fact might easily explain why certain individuals should follow up parti-

cular lines of thought, and why what to one great mind is as clear as day should appear to another but vague and obscure. All this would go to show that there are *types* of people; and it is no wonder, therefore, that Herbert Spencer would dispense with Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* after reading a few pages of it, or that John Stuart Mill could not bring himself to read Hegel's works, or that Haeckel would style Kant a dogmatist while the Kantians would return the compliment by applying to him the same epithet.

II

What Our Views Depend On

That there are different types of mind was noticed by Spinoza who, in his adoration of mathematical demonstration, speaks of such a state of affairs with a certain amount of sad contemplation. In his exquisite appendix to the first book of the *Ethics,* he speaks of " everyone judging of things according to the state of his own brain " and also " that men judge of things according to their mental disposition," finding support for his statements even in such popular proverbs as " So many men, so many minds," " Everyone is wise in his own way," and " Brains differ as completely as palates."

The first philosopher, however, who saw clearly the problem and who recognized that there were two main types of thinkers was Fichte, who makes a very unhappy line of demarcation between the idealist and what he terms the dogmatist, for which we, unbiased people, might substitute the word " realist " or " materialist." Fichte sees that the acceptance of either idealism or its opposite rests on an entirely arbitrary decision which has at its root individual interest. To quote Fichte's words in the introduction to the *Wissenschaftslehre,* " The distinction between the dogmatist and the idealist is consequently the difference of their interest, and then what kind of philosophy one chooses depends consequently upon what kind of a man one is."

It is not difficult at all to see why Fichte treats his opponents so severely. It is an exaggeration of moral responsibility in man that makes him so exacting. We more modern people should be more lenient with our adversaries and not blame a man for belonging to a certain mental type. But even this great apostle of personal freedom is willing to admit that there are differentiated mental constitutions; for, says he: " If idealism should prove to be the only true philosophy, it will also appear that a man must be born a philosopher, be educated to be one and educate him-

self to be one; but that by no human art can one be made a philosopher." What he means is this: "By no human art can one be made an idealistic philosopher, if he is not born with such a tendency."

Now, once it is established that there are individual philosophical types, we must make a transition from this to the consideration whether there exist not also racial types with distinct lines of cleavage.

To avoid, here, in regard to the comparison of nations and individuals, the introduction of such parallelisms as Herbert Spencer formulated for the purpose of showing a resemblance between the human organism and society as a whole—a procedure which would be quite expedient, were it not for the fact that it is reasoning by mere analogy—discarding here such a parallelism, let us ask ourselves: What is a nation other than an aggregate of individuals, descended from a common stock and closely bound up with one another through certain customs, traditions and characteristics, in some cases even religion—the sum-total of these forming the culture (if that will answer to the German word *Kultur*) of the nation?

Now, it is not at all unreasonable to expect that this aggregate of individuals, sprung from common ancestry and connected by the same culture

will form a closer relationship among its own members than between those and the members of some similar group. Nay more, we might even speak of a national consciousness, meaning by this term that the individual connects and refers his experiences not only to a personal unit, not only to an " ego," but also to a *national unity,* that is to say, he knows and feels that he belongs to this or that nation, and realizes what influence this feeling and his peculiar national traits have exercised on his individual self.[1]

Thus we see that what might be said with regard to the individual, *viz.,* that the *character, physical constitution and temperament tune up,* as it were, *the mental structure* and *cause us to react in a certain way,* take up a particular attitude and form our judgments and thence carry on our reasoning in a particular direction, might also be said about the nation—so that Leibniz's critique of innate ideas, introducing the well-known simile of the wax, *viz.,* that the quality of the wax or paper will always determine the writing, might profitably be applied here.

If this is so, that is, if nations and races possess a distinct individuality and can be classified according to mental types—if there is an English

[1] This idea I have developed in several papers and addresses: " Personality and Nationality," " Die kollektive Psychologie bei Peretz " and " Behaviorism in the Social Field."

intellectual type and a German mental cast and a Scotch mind and a French, and so on, we may argue *a fortiori* that there would be a distinct Jewish type, for, in the first place, since the common origin of the Indo-Germanic and the Semitic races is so remote, the angle of divergence must necessarily be greater between any two nations selected from these two races than between any two constituent nations of either race. Secondly it is admitted by almost every investigator that the Jews have preserved their purity of blood to a greater extent than any other nation, and thus their peculiarities and individuality are, for the most part, just as conspicuous at present, during the diaspora, as under their own rulers. The third reason, which might be taken as an expansion of the second, is the remarkable, almost miraculous, way in which they have been able to maintain their existence—gaining for them the greatest admiration in the eyes of some thinkers, for example Renan, who intimated that long after he had ceased to believe in miracles he could never get over the notion that the "unique destiny of the Jewish people * * * appeared to be something of a *sui generis*,"—while for others, *per contra*, the Jews were an object of contempt, as in the case of Schopenhauer, who could never forgive them because their persistence did not confirm his philosophy of the will.

It would seem that *this very activity inherent in the Jews,* which has kept them from assimilation and extinction under the most trying ordeals, is sufficient to indicate their *individual* nature; I mean that although this people is not united in any political sense, there is a strict unity pervading all its members, or in other words, they are different from all other peoples among whom they may dwell.

III

The Soil Fallacy

Against these conclusions some no doubt might urge what they would consider a very serious objection, *viz.,* that the soil is indispensable to the formation of a people and that only the possession of a country could entitle a certain group to be called a nation. It is perhaps the excessive stress which Buckle laid on the soil factor that induced him to speak so contemptuously of the achievements of the Jews after pointing out that Bossuet did them too great honor in his universal history.

Buckle obviously thought that with the destruction of the Temple and their dispersion, the Jews ceased to exist. Consequently they had no further claim to intellectual production. Those

who are acquainted with that thinker's most stimulating work will remember what importance he attaches to surroundings when he attempts to explain the deviation of John Hunter, the great Scotch anatomist and surgeon, from the usual deductive method, employed by all his countrymen, on the ground that he had lived in England for forty years and had, therefore, adopted the inductive or empirical method of that country.

Now it would be beyond the scope of this paper to refute the " soil fallacy," as I should call it, but in order that a gap might not be left here, let me quote two or three, to my mind, compelling passages from Hippolyte Taine's *History of the English Literature,* in support of the view set forth in this essay.

" What we call the race," says this profound critic, " are the innate and hereditary dispositions which man brings with him into the world and which, as a rule, are united with the marked differences in the temperament and structure of the body. They vary with various peoples," and again " We have here a distinct force—so distinct that amidst the other two motive forces produced in him, one can recognize it still; and a race like the old Aryans scattered from the Ganges as far as the Hebrides, settled in every clime and every

stage of civilization, transformed by thirty centuries of revolutions, nevertheless, manifests in its languages, religions, literatures, philosophers, the community of blood and of intellect which to this day binds its offshoots together. Different as they are, their parentage is not obliterated; barbarism, culture and grafting, differences of sky and soil, fortunes good and bad have labored in vain: the great marks of the original model have remained, and we find again the two or three principal lineaments of the primitive stamp underneath the secondary imprints which time has laid upon them."

Perhaps another passage from the same author will bring out the point still more clearly. " Man, says Taine, " forced to accommodate himself to circumstances, contracts a temperament and a character corresponding to them; and his character, like his temperament, is so much more stable, as the external impression is made upon him by more numerous repetitions, and is transmitted to his progeny by a more ancient descent. So that at any moment we may consider the character of a people as an abridgement of all its preceding actions and sensations; that is as a quantity and as a weight not infinite, since everything in nature is finite, but disproportioned to the rest and almost impossible to lift, since every

moment of an almost infinite past has contributed to increase it, and because, in order to raise the scale, one must place in the opposite scale a still greater number of actions and sensations."

Here we see that it is the sensations and actions of a nation that play the essential part and the soil is only a subordinate factor, although, of course, that must not be left entirely out of account. But we must not spend any more time on this phase of the question.

IV

Religious Characteristics of Jews

Before passing on to the empirical portion of the proof, let us stop for a while at an intermediate station and examine the attitude of the Jews as a body toward two phases of life which reflect the character of a people perhaps more than anything else, and for which no individual members of a people can be held responsible, but which must be envisaged as the pulse of the people as a whole. I mean here ethics and relegion. These two expressions of the rationality of man must necessarily point out in what way life or the external world affects a people, and how the latter reacts to the immense variety of experiences it comes in contact with.

Individuals cannot draw up ethical principles or found religions that are out of joint with the general tone of the people that is to embrace them. In fact, individuals can hardly be said to do anything in this respect. *Their efforts are only the expression of the people or race culminating in their genius.* In studying, therefore, the character of a people, their conception of morality and religion will be of considerable significance to us. Conversely, we can never form an adequate idea of a particular creed or *ethos* of a people, without ascertaining first their tendencies. These are interdependent, just as the laws of a nation were shown by Montesquieu to depend largely on its form of government, religion, soil and climate, manners and commerce.

Let us see then what we can learn from the specific nature of the Jewish religion and Jewish ethics. It would be impossible to treat a subject of such comprehensiveness in anything but the most cursory manner; still this is better than overlooking it altogether.

In order to bring out the full content of anything, we can do nothing better than to compare our object with something of a similar kind. It is in the difference between two things that the full import of either will come to light, just as the maximum saturation of two given colors is

brought out by placing the colors side by side. Working on this principle, then with what ethnic groups shall we compare the Jews in respect to ethics and religion? It is quite obvious that we must go as far back as antiquity for this purpose and there we shall find two illustrious nations with whom the Jews should consider it not at all condescending to compete in the world's intellectual contest—the Greeks and the Hindus.

Taking religion first, what do we find? The Greeks have a very naturalistic sort of religion. Their gods are many, and simply answer to the forces of nature, which were held in reverence by the Greeks. There is no great elevation in them and the faults and follies to which man is subject are not at all lacking in the happy gods. Their deities are only more fortunate men, perhaps not even so in the case of *Zeus,* with human passions and cravings. (Of course, I am not referring here to the sublime speculations of a Plato or Aristotle, but rather to the popular views as reflected in Homer especially.)

The Hindus, on the other hand, live in such a highly metaphysical sphere that the very concept of God is foreign to them. The world is but a *maya,* a dream; and ultimate reality is to them *Nirvana*—total annihilation, or what the Eleatics would probably call "non-being." Thus we see

that the Hindus take a negative view of reality. Hence their pessimism and asceticism in ethics.

The Jews adopt a middle position between the two. They conceive a First Cause—a transcendent extramundane Being who is all-wise, all powerful, and all-just, and this Being rules and governs the world. This shows the spiritual tendency of the people, which, however is neutralised by the temporalistic bent—no belief in immortality or future life. In the Bible, we find no trace of this doctrine except a slight reference in the book of Daniel, which was written after considerable intercourse with the Persians and Babylonians, from whom also the system of demonology was borrowed, as is manifested even in the Talmud.

(שמות המלאכים העלו מבבל)

There is also this peculiarity about the Jewish religion that faith is not altogether necessary, as in Buddhism or Christianity, where it is the essential feature. In the Old Testament there is no commandment or law urging belief, although we meet with some verses in the Psalms alluding to faith. It is true that Maimonides in the twelfth century drew up thirteen articles of faith with which every orthodox Jew concludes his morning prayers, but these are not indispensable in order to be a devout Jew, for one of the most pious

writers, Rabbi Joseph Albo, a pupil of the great theological philosopher, Khasdaï Crescas, reduced these articles to three, and even these need not be taken as absolute. As Mendelssohn stated it clearly in his *Jerusalem,* the Jewish religion is not supposed to be revealed *doctrine* but revealed *legislation,* so that all that is required *is to do or not to do certain things,* but it is immaterial as to what one believes. We must remember, too, that this declaration came from one who was essentially an orthodox Jew.

V

Ethics

Turning now to the question of ethics, we find that whereas the fundamental virtue with the Christian is *faith* and also, perhaps, *charity,* and with the Greek, *courage* and *temperance* are most conspicuous, Jewish ethics centers around the single virtue of justice. Everything else is of secondary importance or can be deduced from that cardinal quality. I say " quality " because it cannot be regarded as a virtue in the sense of the Greek ἀρετή—excellence. With the Jews it is a universal quality and by no means only an attribute possessed by the excellent few, by the *élite.*

In Hebrew, there is not even a separate word for virtue, and consequently the word for justice (צדקה) has to serve both concepts. It must not be understood that because justice is the only virtue, the nucleus of Jewish ethics, a truly just man might be a coward or intemperate. Justice would, in a certain measure, include other virtues too, only is it the essence of morality. Even the *lex talionis,* brutal as it may seem in our eyes to demand an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, is only a very strict application of the sense of justice.

These facts with reference to the part the idea of justice has played among the Jews will enlighten us on two points. In the first place, it shows us how the feeling element is responsible for what ethics the Jews have had. It gives more prominence to the sympathy theory of Adam Smith and Hume; for with the Jews it was not a *virtue* of justice, as already pointed out, so much as a *sense* of virtue. No ethical leaders were required to lay down this principle. It came from their own feelings and was afterwards established as law—and here we observe our second point. The Jew does not need to force himself. In fact he cannot do it. His ideals are in him and all he has to do is to conform to them. With the Buddhist or Christian, ethics is a painful

thing. At least there are many obstacles to surmount. Man is asked to make a superhuman effort. Faith and charity, in the true Christian sense, are pills that are hard to swallow. Both Christianity and Buddhism exact faith from the virtuous man. The standard is raised *far* above our heads and we must make a good many bounds to reach it; and that can be done only by very, very few. Man must humiliate himself. He must strive to suffer. Asceticism is brought to his aid. He must root out his feelings. The psychical element is then absorbed in the physical. In his endeavor to become a god, he rather gets nearer inanimate matter.

The Christian ideal is transcendent; the Jewish ideal is immanent. Some, perhaps, would not agree to call a thing that is in us an ideal, yet we may regard it is such if there is any fear of our course being perverted, perhaps through ignorance or insufficient deliberation, especially when our egoistic instincts take a firm hold upon us. Christianity requires us to humble ourselves before our neighbor. The Greek, on the other hand, puts himself above other people. There is a tinge of contempt for others in the Aristotelian virtues of magnificence and magnanimity. To display magnanimity is to show condescension on our part. It puts our fellow-men in a lower position.

Here, too, as in religion, the Jew takes a middle course and puts his neighbor on a par with himself, justice and fairness being the bridge between the two extremes. Magnificence as well as asceticism are banished. The Jew does not seek salvation in Juggernaut monstrosities to please a barbarous deity. Enjoyment of life within reasonable bounds is his aim; and his ethics is, therefore, adapted according to his constitution. If ethics is a science or art dealing with man only, it must conform to the mental and physical make-up of man; but to establish an imaginary standard and demand our compliance with it is something unwarrantable.

Even Spinoza, whose ethics is, for the most part, intellectualistic, and who was looked upon by many critics as a Stoic, probably because of his self-denying habits, does not fail to recognize the force of the *conatus* and the feelings in man—a department which Kant omitted entirely.[1] It is the very recognition of the *Conatus,* which brings the intuitive thinker into conflict with the rigid reasoner. After telling us in one proposition that reason is the essence of man, deducing it from the attribute of God or Substance, he, in another prop-

[1] At the time I wrote this paper, I was not yet acquainted with Kant's *Anthropologie,* which contains his psychological views, nevertheless it is true that in his *philosophical* system, the feelings were not considered.

osition, makes the *conatus* to be the supreme principle of man. It is Spinoza the Jew striving against Spinoza the follower of Descartes's method.

At this point I shall have to close this interlude on the attitude the Jewish people have taken toward religion and ethics; and although this question, if properly expanded, would in itself be a very interesting contribution to comparative religion or ethics, we shall have to content ourselves with the one or two facts that were hardly more than hinted at.

The instances to be adduced from Jewish philosophers will afford us more substantial proof of and justification for the foregoing utterances, and will help us to ascertain what is meant by characteristic Jewish trends in philosophy.

It must not be supposed for a moment that we can exhaust all possible instances, so that Bacon's famous dictum that "we mark only when we hit and not when we miss" can hardly apply here. There is no intention on my part to establish any universality. That would be impossible; and if possible, quite unnecessary.

It was Buckle who tried to prove that the Scotch mind was of the deductive type,[1] that the

[1] John Hunter, the famous surgeon, was singled out as an exception, because he spent most of his life in England. How completely Buckle was under the sway of the environment bias!

German intellect was even more so, that the English were inductive, that the French were inductive in the eighteenth century and deductive in the nineteenth. Now, in my opinion, Buckle undertook too much. Individuals cannot be said to be governed by absolute laws *only because they happen to live on a certain soil* and to belong to a certain race or nationality. Other things count equally; for instance, the subjective conditions of the individual, his imbibing doctrines from other sources, as well as the epoch in which he lives. All these factors, and several others might be named, contribute greatly to the formation of his attitude in a certain direction.

In dealing with Spinoza, *e.g.*, can we fail to take into account the influence of the Cartesian philosophy on his method, and especially of modern science that was just beginning to get out of its swaddling-clothes? Further, shall we overlook the effect of the great event in his life—his excommunication and the solitary life he was obliged to lead? No matter how philosophically one might take things, some matters are not so easy to get over as an outsider might think, especially for a man brimming with feeling.

Such reflections must lead one to abandon the task of proving that the specific Jewish intellectual type will apply to *all* Jewish philosophers.

It *would* so apply, were there not other, conflicting causes that could be discovered only on the most minute investigation. One should think himself well acquitted in showing that *certain features are predominant in the works of Jewish philosophers,* or that the preponderance of a *certain type of method holds good of most Jewish thinkers.*

A second point on which we might take issue with Buckle is his sharp dividing line between inductive and deductive. Such a division seems to be arbitrary; and in the case of Hume, Buckle's division is especially inapplicable.

If philosophers are to be grouped into two different classes, it seems that the most satisfactory cleavage might be struck between " origin " philosophers and " validity " philosophers. The former will be found to emphasize the psychological side; the latter will accentuate the importance of the mathematical or epistemological point of view.

Again, it may be said that the psychologistic philosopher will proceed analytically—perhaps, in the sense of Buckle, inductively— while the epistemological philosopher will adopt a synthetic method. The former will be more destructive, the latter will try to build up on the basis of certain assumptions. The "originist," if I be allowed

to use such a term, will pay great attention to experience, to perception; the " validist " will take refuge in purely logical principles. The former will start from below and proceed upwards; the latter will start at the other extremity and make his descent. The one leans somewhat toward intuitionism; the other is a rigid intellectualist.

And now it ought not to be difficult for those who are at all conversant with the works of Jewish philosophers to see that with them the origin of ideas and concepts is of supreme importance. Before they attempt to construct, they analyse so minutely the ruins of their predecessors' structures that very little is left to build upon. Hence it need not surprise us that the Jew is the critic *par excellence,* and is slightly bent toward skepticism. When the Jewish philosopher goes behind the concept at issue, he begins to doubt whether there is any justification for its existence, with the result that, not satisfied with the rigid discipline of logic, he resorts to his intuitive powers. The illustrations [1] from the works of Jewish thinkers and the comparison between their method and that of the non-Semitic philosophers will make the type of philosophy which the Jews have developed more evident.

[1] These were presented orally and no record of them has been preserved, except the references in the *McGill Daily.*

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

"JEWISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO CIVILIZATION"

A REVIEW [1]

NOT since Bernard Lazare's *L'Antisémitisme,* published in an English translation about seventeen years ago, has there appeared a work dealing with some phase of the Jewish mind that is at once as elucidating and as broad in its scope as the posthumous volume of Joseph Jacobs, entitled *Jewish Contributions to Civilization.*[2] Dr. Ruppin's *The Jews of To-day* is scarcely more than a handbook covering our own period only, and even as a handbook it is not altogether reliable, considering that Thomas Edison is spoken of as a Jew—an error which was not corrected by Miss Bentwich, who translated the book into English, and which was apparently overlooked by Joseph Jacobs, whose interesting introduction to Dr. Ruppin's book already contains the nucleus of his last work. In the same way, Israel Cohen's *Jewish Life in Modern Times,* though chock-full of information, does not make its aim to *interpret* the Jew, but rather discusses, in a journalistic vein, the Jewish situation at the present time, considered in its several phases. Dr. Fishberg's socio-anthropological study of the Jews, while a tribute

[1] This critical notice first appeared, somewhat abridged, in the *Menorah Journal,* 1919, volume V.

[2] Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1919.

to his industry and painstaking methods of research, misses the whole point of his investigation. With him it was a case of not seeing the forest because of the trees. Pinning his faith to the fallen star of historical materialism, he lost sight of the scientific firmament above him, which had been changing its hue for the last quarter of a century. The one recent attempt to approach Joseph Jacobs' task was made by Mendel Silber in his *Jewish Achievement,* but this author fell short of his mark. His treatment of the subject is neither as adequate nor as accurate as it might be, and, in some respects, it resembles J. F. Fraser's farrago, pompously named *The Conquering Jew*—a rather ambivalent title.

It is to be expected, of course, that a man who was engaged for about thirty years in researches on the comparative distribution of Jewish ability, originally begun under the guidance of and in association with Sir Francis Galton, would turn out a work of more than passing importance. Unfortunately Jacobs did not live to complete his arduous labor, and only the first of the three books that he had contemplated publishing was left in printable form. From the prefatory note to the volume, presumably written by the editor, it appears that " the second book was to be devoted to the evaluation of the contributions of individual Jews to modern European culture," while the third book was to discuss "the value of Jews in the modern cultural state." The second book, in the opinion of the reviewer, would have been the most significant of the three, especially as this subject has not been treated systematically, and such discussions as have appeared on the influence of individual Jews have, as a rule, been vitiated by

sweeping generalizations, due to the bias of the writer to make almost everything of importance center about the topic discussed. When, accordingly, we are told that a number of notes have been found in connection with Book II, can we anticipate anything less than that an editor will be engaged for the elaboration of the material and subsequent publication of a second volume such as the late author had originally planned?

The *Noblesse Oblige* of the Jewish Race

The introduction of the work, consisting of 58 pages, is really the keynote of the whole volume. In substance, as well as in style, this part is superior to the rest of the book. It is here that the general basis of Jacobs' viewpoint is outlined. The impression conveyed, at least to the reviewer, it that he has, in this his last work, taken up a more nationalistic position with regard to his people than be held at the time he was connected with the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. The opening sentence is in itself an indication that he believed the Jews to be a national or racial group quite distinct from all other peoples; and his plea for the comparative fixity of Jewish racial characteristics (page 45) will, let us hope, serve to check the advance of such views as have been put forth by Dr. Fishberg.

The first chapter, dealing with the spiritual influence of the ancient Jews, is a bit too trite and apologetic, but there is one passage in the chapter which is so appealing in form and so lofty in sentiment that we can scarcely resist the temptation to quote it here. Touching upon the question of European indebtedness to Israel and its re-

payment, Jacobs gives expression to the following exhortation (for that is what it really amounts to): "I am more concerned to state that there has never been any claim by Jews for any such payment; nor would such claim be justified. Nor would it be politic; gratitude to one individual for favors received is nominally tempered by resentment against the scheme of things which causes the necessity for receiving favors. If Mr. Popakopoulus, who does me the honor to blacken my shoes occasionally, attempts to scamp his work or cheat me out of my change, I am not inclined to regard his lapses with more leniency because he may possibly have within his veins some of the blood of an Æschylus or a Plato. So, too, if Pietro Vivanti sells me inedible fruit or does not carry through a piece of work he has agreed to do, I should remain unaffected by his pleadings (which he is scarcely likely to make) that he is descended from Lucretius or Horace. Just in the same way Mr. Abramsky, or Mr. Isaacstein, or let us even say Mr. Jacobs, has no diploma entitling him to do inefficient work or a piece of underhand trickery because he may be a direct descendant of Samuel or Hosea. In fact, in all these cases, the possession of so illustrious a pedigree only creates the greater disappointment if its possessors fall short of the current standards of manners or morals found in the ordinary citizen. *Noblesse oblige* should be the slogan of noble races as well as of noble families."

How can we help applauding this excellent plea, especially when we recall the fact that "All Jews stand sponsor for one another," a dictum which is subscribed to in effect, by those, particularly,

who are in the habit of telling the fortunate one who happens to be an acquaintance of theirs that he is so different from all the rest of the Jews?

Jewish Influence in the Middle Ages

Perhaps the chief value of the second chapter on the Church and the Jews consists in its epitomizing qualities rather than in the facts and inferences which the author lays before us. The relationship between Christianity and Judaism has been dealt with by numerous specialists almost exhaustively, and Dr. Jacobs does not offer any strikingly new observations. The *rationale* of the chapter is evidently the thesis that the Jews should not suffer civic discrimination on any theological grounds, because, in the first place, Christianity is an offspring of Judaism and secondly, how can one be certain as to the absolute truth of a dogma? But really such an apology is out of place in the twentieth century. What intelligent person is so bissfully naïve as to suppose that in our age Jews have been discriminated against on theological grounds? To be sure, difference of creed has figured as an ostensible reason for the various disabilities that have fallen to the lot of the Jews. We may be certain, however, that those who were responsible for the restrictions against the Jews on religious principles would fail to be convinced by Jacobs' rather commonplace arguments. To argue in our age for the right of belief, and in a serious tone, is nothing short of an anachronism.

In the next three chapters, Jacobs is in his own element. Here we find the historical sense which the author possessed in a high degree stamped

over the whole train of thought, carrying us through the Middle Ages into the period of the Renaissance, and revealing before us, as we are borne along, the part played by Israel as an intermediary, and the influence exercised by the greater Jewish lights upon their contemporaries. In our estimation, the chapter on the influence of Jewish thought in the Middle Ages, sketchy as it is, constitutes the most significant part of the volume. It is in these pages that Jacobs has given us a compact summary of Jewish achievement during the period when Jewish influences were generally supposed to have been at an ebb. Moderate as the author is, as a rule, in his assertions, he occasionally allows himself to lapse into or, perhaps better, to soar to semi-romantic moods, due probably to certain suggestive associations uninhibited by careful analysis. This is natural with everyone who is anxious to prove a particular thesis on the basis of analogies and parallels.

Jewish Thinkers and Jewish Martyrs

There can hardly be any doubt that upon thorough revision, the footnote on page 178 would have been eliminated by the author; for it is difficult to see how " the infinity of attributes may be regarded as a premonition of the recognition by modern mathematicians of the infinity of non-Euclidean spaces."

Spinoza himself would scarcely have been willing to make of his God merely an infinity of non-existences or conceptual entities, and modern mathematicians would surely have arrived at the conception of non-Euclidean space without such

impetus as may be derived from a phrase like "infinity of attributes." The difference between Spinoza's attributes of God or Substance and hypergeometric space in *n* dimensions is that the former had actual existence, though we, with our finite mental constitutions, could grasp no more than two of them, *viz.*, thought and extension, while non-Euclidean space, on the other hand, can be only conceived, although it has no factual existence. Hence it would be fatal to Spinoza's whole system of philosophy to read into his concept of attribute a dimensional interpretation.

Another instance of Jacobs' romanticism is to be found on the very next page where he discusses the influence of Jewish martyrdom on men like Roger Bacon, Lully, Bruno, and Servetus, who "must have been supported in their struggle with the Church by the consciousness that they were not risking more than the Jewish thinkers with whom each of them was, at some time in his life, acquainted." The conclusion to be drawn then is that the very persecution of the Jews served a good purpose, as if thinkers like Giordano Bruno needed stimulating examples before they could take up a firm stand on matters of conscience, and as if the early history of Christianity could not offer a plentiful supply of such examples, if any were needed. Minds that have martyr stuff in them require no prodding to abide by their convictions, but even if they did, Jacobs' statement is at best a conjecture, not an hypothesis even, since no problem has presented itself for solution. The case may or may not have been as Jacobs suggests. In the absence, however, of any direct evidence taken, say, from the writings of Roger Bacon or Bruno, we are not warranted in setting up such a purely problematic thesis.

Capitalism and Socialism

"Jews and Commerce" and "Jews and Capitalism" are the titles of the next two chapters. One wonders after reading Sombart's bulky work on Jews and capitalism whether anything more can be said on that issue by a contemporary, but it appears that Jacobs has given a more objective, even if all too brief, account of the Jew's place in the development of modern capitalism than did the German economist. In fact, his *excursus* on Sombart is an excellent refutation of the latter's far-fetched views on the subject.

The chapter on the breakdown of the Church-Empire is historical in character, but the next and final chapter in the book tends to be interpretative. The liberal and socialistic leanings of the Jew are discussed here with considerable insight, reenforced by, or perhaps rather derived from, a copious stock of illustrations. Much of what is said on that head has already been elaborately treated by Bernard Lazare in his work on anti-Semitism, but it seems that Jacobs has taken up the thread where Lazare let it drop. The brilliant Franco-Jewish scholar was planning to bring out a thorough study of the part the Jews played in revolutionary movements, but death snatched this man of genius at the early age of thirty-eight before he had time to engage in the contemplated task.

Limitations of a Significant Book

Jewish Contributions to Civilization is a popular work written in a journalistic style. It naturally lacks the elegance of expression and precision to

be found in most of Jacobs' other works, which have had the advantage of his revising hand. If we are to introduce the Jamesian distinction between *knowledge by acquaintance* and *knowledge by description,* we should say that his knowledge of the Jew was of the latter type. He knew a world *about* the Jews but he was not conversant with the Jew as such. Yiddish to him is an archaic German. The Ghetto Jew he would treat as a *subject* for the purpose of *study* rather than as a personality to be *understood.* In order to be able to interpret the Jew, one must study him while he is in the shell, if the metaphor is not too offensive. How much more valuable our results when we have before us a live specimen as compared with a fossil, on the basis of which we are to reconstruct our species! Hence it is that in spite of his breadth of view and versatility, Jacobs could not be regarded as a perspicacious historian or interpreter of the Jewish people. His views are sane enough, but they have not been carried to the root of the matter.

Had Jacobs possessed a true philosophical mind, he would not have allowed himself to say that " the socialistic tone of J. S. Mill's *Principles of Political Economy,* which differentiates it from its Ricardoan predecessors, is undoubtedly due, in large measure, to his intercourse with d'Eichthal." (footnote, page 308). What the author is attempting to do is to prop up the general belief about the hankering of the Jews after socialistic doctrine. But when we reduce the quotation to the lowest terms, it reads: " The socialistic tone of the Gentile (who was by hypothesis originally a non-socialist) differed from that of Ricardo (who was a Jew and must, there-

fore, by hypothesis have had socialistic leanings) because the Gentile had been under the influence of another Jew, *viz.*, d'Eichthal." This inconsequential procedure stands out in relief especially when we consider that Ricardo abandoned his Jewish associations at the time he gained his majority, while d'Eichthal was converted to Christianity at the age of thirteen, hence since J. S. Mill knew both Ricardo and d'Eichthal, we should have expected, *ceteris paribus,* that the Jewish influence of Ricardo would bear more than that of d'Eichthal with Mill.

It would have been more to the point and more profitable for our author to occupy himself with the far weightier question of Ricardo's Semitic traits as revealed by his method and logical carriage, which, according to Bagehot, Marshall, and other leading authorities, set him off from all other British economists.

Incidentally, the use of the unwieldy form *Ricardoan* instead of the generally accepted adjective *Ricardian* betrays a streak of pedantry in Jacobs. If the final *o* is not elided before the adjectival suffix in this case, then why should the *a* in Spinoza be elided for the sake of euphony in the derivative "Spinozist"? Yet Jacobs is inconsistent enough to keep the economist's name intact while syncopating that of the great philosopher. (See pages 178 and 308). We may also mention, in this connection, the use of the form "Abaelard," which is one of several variants the name of the celebrated Scholastic takes on, but there is no reason for preferring this semi-Latinized form to the more common spelling, "Abelard." Jacobs is probably following here Henry Osborn Taylor, but the authority of one man, especially when he

does not state his reasons for his preference, should not weigh as heavily as the implicit agreement of contemporary philosophical writers to use the French form, with or without the accent.

In conclusion, let it be pointed out that the Cantor to whom Jacobs is referring in a footnote on page 149 is not Georg, as we are led to believe from the index, but his equally distinguished relative, *Moritz* Cantor. The contributions of both men to the science of mathematics are monumental, but while Georg is pre-eminently a scientist, Moritz is primarily a scholar. On page 149, Jacobs refers us to Cantor's *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik* for the information that John of Seville or Ibn Daud was the translator of Muhammed Alkhwarizmi's work on arithmetic into Latin, but Cantor makes no mention of that fact, and furthermore, he is evidently under the impression that the translator was an English monk by the name of Atelhart of Bath (Cantor's *Vorlesungen,* etc., second edition, vol. 1, pages 611-612; third edition, page 713).

In fact, on page 685 in volume 1, of his *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik,* Cantor states expressly that the arithmetic which John of Seville had translated was erroneously attributed to the Arabian mathematician. In reality, however, the Latin translation of *Alkhwarizmi's* work appeared earlier than John of Seville's arithmetic of which *" der eigentliche Verfasser nicht zu ermitteln zu sein scheint,"* (the actual author seems not to be discoverable). It is rather curious that Steinschneider, the greatest bibliographer of the century, should not have referred to this passage in connection with his Johannes Hispalensis (John of Seville) since he has given

evidence of being thoroughly acquainted with Cantor's work.

Jacobs' work, like most of his writings, is very stimulating but lacks the persistence of German scholarship, with its scrupulous care, or the logical continuity required for philosophical thinking. Jacobs is undoubtedly a methodologist, in the sense that he can devise an ingenious technique for dealing with facts and figures. He has learned much from Galton, but has supplemented his master's brilliant strokes in the process of adapting them to specifically Jewish problems. Were his a philosophical mind in the broader sense of the word, Jacobs would have taken his place among the foremost sociologists of his day, but his versatility is a sufficiently attractive trait of his mentality to welcome him as an investigator of the Jewish mind.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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PREFATORY REMARKS

§ 1—*The Method of Inclusion*

The following bibliography is not to be mistaken for a list of books used in the preparation of the present volume. Nor are we dealing here with books in general on the Jews—*Judaica.* The titles enumerated refer to one phase of Jewish life only, *viz.,* the contribution of the Jew to modern thought. For this reason, books on the Jewish " question," on Jewish customs or morals, Judaism, the destiny of the Jews, Zionism, or Jewish history, in the sense of a chronicle of events, should not be looked for in this bibliography.

Let the critical reader, before deciding that an important omission has been made, ask himself whether the work in question bears directly on Jewish achievement. There are many excellent books on Jewish topics, even on Jewish thought, *e.g.,* Hess's *Rome and Jerusalem,* Akhad ha-Am's *At the Parting of the Ways,* and the like, which, however, are too abstract and politically-

centered to be cited in connection with the present work. Similarly, Lazarus's *The Ethics of Judaism* is a splendid work, but it is a moral treatise grounded in ancient lore. Such omissions are deliberate and in accordance with the original plan. A complete bibliography of *Judaica,* or even of the most important books on the Jews, would, in itself, require a set of books in order to be fully recorded.

Articles, for the most part, have been excluded because, as a rule, they are too snatchy and difficult to get at. Exceptions have been made, however, in the case of the more extensive essays in periodicals, especially when the writer is an authority.

It may seem strange to many a reader that anti-Semitic literature was not definitely ruled out of the appended list. The answer is, as has already been intimated, that often books of this character furnish us with important data. The nature of the contents has, however, been indicated in each case by a dagger (†) affixed to the title, and frequently by a separate critical comment. We cannot afford to ignore even libels; but occasionally the modern Balaam who has come to curse Israel ends up by admiring the tents of Jacob. Then, too, it is not easy to draw the line between the many grades and shades of anti-Semitism.

The policy adopted here, therefore, was to make a reference to every pamphlet which argues the question of *Jewish culture,* particularly where illustrations are cited. In order to study the concrete expression of the Jewish mind through outstanding individuals of the race, it is necessary to concentrate on a given area, and to approach the field from all possible angles and under various conditions of light. Even the treacherous by-ways of anti-Semitism must not be overlooked, dark and dismal though they be.

On the other hand, let us not be taken in by titles that are misnomers. A book labelled "*The Genius of the Jews*" may be merely a transcript of the *Bible,* interspersed with inconsequential observations. There are too many writings of this sort, decked out by their authors with misappropriate titles. In one or two places, glaring captional misrepresentations have been entered with a word of warning, *i. e.,* they have been received only to be rejected.

§ 2—*The System of Classification*

For the sake of clarity, the bibliography has been divided into five classes:

A—Jewish encyclopedias and lexicons, covering every aspect of Jewish activity.

B—General surveys of Jewish achievement.

C—Jewish biographical dictionaries, covering various spheres of culture.

D—Presentations of Jewish contributions to *Special Fields,* such as medicine, law, art, etc., or in *particular countries.*

E—Books about the Jews in which their mental characteristics or achievements are discussed, with concrete illustrations.

Dictionaries of rabbinical authors or writers in Hebrew, as such, have been eliminated. Even Weiss's *Dor Dor V'Dorshov* could not find a place here, unless, of course, it were brought up to the modern period. Buber's *An'she Shem,* Renan and Neubauer's volume on the French rabbis of the fourteenth century, Ibn Yakhia's *Sefer Shalsheleth ha-Kabalah,* Gans's *Tzemakh David,* Kohn's *Biographien hervorragender rabbinischer Autoritäten,* and others of like concentration must come under the same restriction.

In division E, the chapters or sections germane to our present study will often be found indicated in the annotations.

In conclusion, it must be pointed out that the conspicuous absence of references to Jews as politicians, Jews as financiers, as industrialists, as patriots, as citizens, soldiers, philanthropists, etc.,

is to be explained by the fact that all these walks in life and civic functions are not, at any rate in my opinion, a part of culture, although there can be no doubt that they enter into the fabric of civilization. Our concern is with the former; and the title of the book before us should serve to remind those who will miss the conventional citations that we are in the realm of *modern thought,* in its broad sense, which would include literature, science and art (inasmuch as art utilizes philosophical conceptions) in addition to philosophy.

I have not thought it necessary to compile another bibliography, consisting of books and articles used in the preparation of the volume before us, as is frequently done. Such a list would be too heterogeneous and, furthermore, would take up too much space. Since the book, in the main, has been carefully documented and fully indexed, the reader will be able to put his finger on a required title by consulting the index and scanning the footnotes, as well as the references in the text.

A complete bibliography of *Judaica,* in its stricter sense, *i. e.,* of books and articles about the Jews, in every phase of life, is a *desideratum,* and probably will materialize in the near future.

A

JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIAS AND LEXICONS

EISENSTEIN, J. D.
אוצר ישראל (10 volumes),
New York 1906–1913

First Hebrew encyclopedia on a large scale. The rabbinical biographies are the most useful part of this work, which, in general, is based on the *Jewish Encyclopedia.*

HERLITZ, G., AND KIRSCHNER, B., editors
Jüdisches Lexikon. Ein enzyklopädisches Handbuch des jüdischen Wissens
volume I A - C, Berlin, 1927
volume II D - H, Berlin, 1928

This cyclopedia is to be completed in 4 volumes. The chief feature of this work is its fine technical make-up, (paper, binding and beautiful illustrations). The political, social, economic and religious aspects of Judaism are treated adequately, even if briefly. The biographical articles are not only terse but too few. For the most part, the sketches are written by specialists, who, however, stress political achievements. In a number of instances, revision would be necessary, *e.g.*, Husserl (not Edward but Edmund). Much new material has been exploited since the publication of the Jewish Encyclopedia and its Russian successor.

KATZENELSON, I. L., editor-in-chief
ЕВРЕЙСКАЯ ЭНЦИКЛОПЕДІЯ (16 volumes)
St. Petersburg, 1906-1913

As regards biography and phases of secular Jewish scholarship and science, the only noticeable improvement on its American predecessor is in Slavic connections.

KLATZKIN, J., editor-in-chief
Encyclopedia Judaica, Berlin,
volume I, Aach – Akademien, 1928
volume II, Akademien – Apostate, 1928
volume III, Apostel – Beerajim, 1929

To be completed in 15 volumes (over 1200 columns each), although it is difficult to see how the rest of the material, judging from the range of the first three volumes, can be compressed into 12 volumes.

Undoubtedly the most authoritative encyclopedia on Jewish matters, it is being published simultaneously in Hebrew, and is soon to appear also in English.

The *Encyclopedia Judaica* shows its excellence in the historical, musical, iconographic, archæological and theological articles. There is much room for improvement, however, in the department of contemporary biography. In the first place, there are a considerable number of important omissions. Secondly, most of the notices are too meagre. The allotment of space, in some instances, seems to be governed by the *idola fori;* hence a certain disproportionateness is in evidence.

LANDMAN, I., editor-in-chief

New Popular Jewish Encyclopedia
(in preparation)

Originally intended to be published in five volumes, this work, as the editors write me, may be extended so as to comprise eight volumes, the last of which will be published in 1931. "It will be particularly strong in all phases of Americana, pertaining to the past and present of the Jews in the New World."

SINGER, I., originator and managing editor

Jewish Encyclopedia (12 volumes); New York, 1901–1906

Still the most authoritative work of its kind, but somewhat deficient in biography to begin with, it is now almost antiquated as a biographical reference work.

SINGER, I., originator and managing editor

A Gentiles' Outline of the Jew's Contribution to Civilization (in preparation)

Planned to cover the whole range of Jewish achievement, this 9,000 page encyclopedia is to present the biographical sketches of "1800 Jewish master minds" together with an

account of their contributions. The distinctive feature of this work will be the absence of Jewish collaborators. The first volumes will probably not appear until 1930. For critical comment on this prospective biographical dictionary, see chapter II of the present volume.

B

JEWISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE WORLD'S CULTURE

(General Surveys)

Bevan, E. R., and Singer, C. J., Editors

The Legacy of Israel, London, 1927

This work, originally planned by the late Israel Abrahams, is authoritative but much too restricted in scope. The secular Jewish contribution in contemporary times is not fully represented.

Cohen, Israel

The Jews in Modern Times, London, 1914

Chapters II and III of Book V are labelled "Jewish Culture" and "Contributions to General Culture and Progress." Cohen covers a great many topics rather skimmingly.

Cohon, S. S., editor

Jewish Reference Book. B'nai Brith Manual, Cincinnati, 1926

Contains thimble accounts of Jewish contributions to modern culture.

Deutsch, S., and Graeffer, F.

Jüdischer Plutarch, oder biographisches Lexikon der markantesten Männer und Frauen jüdischer Abkunft, Vienna, 1848

Fraser, J. F.

The Conquering Jew, London, 1915

A farrago betraying the ambivalent attitude of the author towards the Jews, in spite of his, no doubt, good intentions.

Here we are told that Paderewski is a Jew, that Columbus's mother was of Jewish descent, and "Wagner is now known to have been a Jew." "Wagner was colossally German, but he was a Jew" (page 278). Alice Liebmann is paired off with Kreisler as examples of Jewish violinists. "David Frischmann" is described as probably the first Jewish poet of to-day, Klausner's fame rests on his "excellent biography of the Jewish poet I[T]schernichowski" * * * "Dr. Israel Abrahams is Doctor of Literature at Pennsylvania University," and so the delectable titbits of either inaccurate or trivial information are brought out from every nook and corner without any preparation.

The keynote of this rambling plea seems to be contained in the following sentence "Everywhere the Jew wins 'hands down'. He always means to succeed."

HASKINS, C. H.

Studies in the History of Mediæval Science, Cambridge, 1924

Contains numerous references to Jewish scientists and translators in the Middle Ages.

HÜHNER, L.

The Jews in the Arts, Sciences, and the Professions (pamphlet), New York, 1905

Appeared originally in *The American Hebrew*, 1905.

JACOBS, J.

"The Comparative Distribution of Jewish Ability." *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1886, vol. XV.

See chapter II of the present book.

JACOBS, J.

Jewish Contributions to Civilization, Philadelphia, 1919

For critical review, see Appendix of the present volume.

JUDEN *Anteil am Fortschritt der Kultur, der* (Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus).

KAHN, F.

Die Juden als Rasse und Kulturvolk, Berlin, 1920

KARPELES, G.

Geschichte der jüdischen Literatur (2 volumes), Berlin, 1886

Abridged English translation (Philadelphia, 1895) includes "The Jew in the History of Civilization" and "Jewish Society in the Time of Mendelssohn."

LAZARE, B.

L'Antisémitisme, son histoire et ses causes, Paris, 1894

English translation, New York [1903]

For our purpose, chapter XIII, discussing the Jewish influence in certain movements, is the most important in the book.

LEROY-BEAULIEU, A.

Les Juifs et l'antisémitisme; Israël chez les nations, Paris, 1893. Translated into English as *Israel among the Nations*, New York, 1895

At the time it first appeared, the book showed the comprehensive grasp of the author, even in the purely cultural part. The sociological aspect is nevertheless the most convincing in the volume.

LYON, D. G.

Jewish Contributions to Civilization. (Address) Boston, 1893

MAGNUS, L.

The Jews in the Christian Era and Their Contribution to its Civilization

In preparation. To appear probably in 1930.

Possibly the wording of the title may be slightly changed. In a communication from the author, dated May 13, 1929, the title is cited as *Jewish Contributions to the World in the Christian Era.*

NEWMAN, H., editor

The Real Jew: Some Aspects of the Jewish Contribution to Civilization, London, 1925

A few of the chapters in this collaboration are satisfactory; others are inadequate. The chapter on the Jewish contribution to philosophy ignores practically every Jewish thinker of the twentieth century.

PETERS, M. C.

Justice to the Jew; What He Has Done for the World, New York, 1899; 2d edition, 1910

For a long time this *apologia* was a source of comfort to American Jews.

RUPPIN, A.

Die Juden der Gegenwart, Berlin, 1911. Translated into English as *The Jews of To-Day*, London, 1913

Strong in the economic and social portions; weak in the cultural sections of the book and revealing some strange inaccuracies.

SARTON, G.

Introduction to the History of Science, volume I, Baltimore, 1927

Volume II of this encyclopedic work covering the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (to be published in 1930) will contain scores of references to Jewish scientists in the Middle Ages.

SCHLEIDEN, M. J.

Die Bedeutung der Juden für die Erhaltung und Wiederbelebung der Wissenschaften im Mittelalter, Leipzig, 1887

Two English translations were made from the fourth German edition:

(a) *The Sciences among the Jews before and during the Middle Ages*, Baltimore, 1883, and

(b) *The Importance of the Jews for the Preservation and Revival of Learning during the Middle Ages* (M. Kleimen-

hagen, translator, with introduction by H. Gollancz), London, 1911.

It is inspiring to think that this great botanist took so much interest in what was, at least, in his day, a neglected topic.

SILBER, M.

Jewish Achievement, St. Louis, 1910

A bird's eye view without any pretense to being scholarly. Here we are told that Bessel, the astronomer, and Rachmaninoff are Jews. Hyphenated names are sometimes detached; and of course there is the usual misappropriation of Max Bruch. Mis-spellings occur frequently.

STEINSCHNEIDER, M.

Jewish Literature from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Century. Translated from the German, London, 1857

Originally written for Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, it encompasses, with Steinschneider's characteristic thoroughness and accuracy, the whole range of literature, philosophy, theology, and science.

STERLING, A.

The Jew and Civilization, New York, 1924

Written in a lively style, the book makes a strong appeal to the reader, but the author has clearly no deep grasp of Jewish lore and is not *au courant* with recent developments in the arts and sciences. Aside from the promiscuous treatment (mention of the great and mediocre in one breath) there are numerous omissions and occasional mis-statements such as the reference to Karl Goldmark as "another of Russia's distinguished Jewish sons," to Ricardo as a mathematician, or to Bergson "as a member of the Clémenceau cabinet." The work, which is after all a useful compilation of facts deftly interwoven, but with insufficient discrimination, is also marred by a number of mis-spellings.

WILD, L. H.

The Evolution of the Hebrew People and Their Influence on Civilization, New York, 1917

C

DICTIONARIES OF JEWISH BIOGRAPHY

AZULAÏ, KH. J. D.

שם הגדולים ("*The Name of the Great*")

Leghorn, 1786

Originally incomplete and unsystematic, this lexicon formed the foundation for many biographical dictionaries (Nepi, Ghirondi, Walden, etc.) of Hebrew authors and was reprinted, besides, in several different editions. Benjacob's edition, which appeared in Wilno, in 1852, was a decided improvement on the original because of its orderly arrangement, if for nothing more. In 1864, there appeared in Warsaw, Aaron Walden's שם הגדולים החדש, bringing the Italian scholar's work up to date; and in 1882, Walden's son, Joseph, added an appendix supplementing his father's work.

BUBER, S. See Prefatory Remarks, §2.

EHRENTHAL, M.

Jüdisches Familienbuch, Saros-Patak, 1866

EISENSTADT, B.

דור רבניו וסופריו ("*The Generation, Its Rabbis, and Writers*")

Wilno and New York, 1895–1903

Four parts appeared in Wilno, and the fifth was brought out in New York in 1903.

EISENSTADT, B.

חכמי ישראל באמריקא ("*The Scholars of Israel in America*")

New York, 1905

FRANKFURTER, N., AND AUERBACH, B.

Galerie der ausgezeichneten Israeliten aller Jahrhunderte, Stuttgart, 1834–1836

GANS, D. See Prefatory Remarks, §2.

GOTTLIEB, S. N.
אהלי שם ("*The Tents of Shem*")
Pinsk, 1912

GRᴬBER, S. E.
אוצר הספרות ("*Thesaurus of Literature*")
(4 volumes), Cracow, 1889

GRÜNFELD, K. S.
Berühmte Männer und Frauen: ein illustrierter Protest gegen den Antisemitismus, Vienna, 1886.

IBN-YAKHIA. See Prefatory Remarks, §2.

JÜDISCHES ATHENÄUM. *Galerie berühmter Männer jüdischer Abstammung und jüdischen Glaubens* (from the second half of the eighteenth century to the close of the first half of the nineteenth), Grimma and Leipzig, 1851.

KAYSERLING, M.
Gedenkblätter. Hervorragende jüdische Persönlichkeiten des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, Leipzig, 1892

KITTEL, R.
Great Men and Movements in Israel, New York, 1929
Deals with ancient history only, but in a stimulating manner.

KOHUT, A.
Berühmte israelitische Männer und Frauen, in der Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit, Leipzig, [1900–1901?]
Skilfully compiled, with an abundance of anecdotal material, it is, however, not sufficiently inclusive.

KREPPEL, J.
Juden und Judentum von heute, Vienna, 1925

LÖWY, D.
Galerie der verdienstvollen Juden des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, Vienna, 1882

Morais, H. S.

Eminent Israelites of the Nineteenth Century, Philadelphia, 1880

The selection shows the good judgment of the compiler.

Nepi, G. See Azulaï.

Reizen, Z.

לעקסיקאָן פון דער יידישער ליטעראטור, פּרעסע און פילאָלאָגיע,

"*Lexicon of the Yiddish Literature, Press and Philology*" (4 volumes), Wilno, 1926–(1930?)

At the present writing, the third volume is probably just off the press. The fourth volume is in preparation.

Rosenberg, A., editor

Eminent Jews of the Time, London, 1877

Apparently this was intended to be a series, but so far as I could discover, only one sketch was published, that of Moses Montefiore.

Schulman, Kalman.

תולדות חכמי ישראל ("*The Biographies of Jewish Sages*") Wilno, 1872–1878

Sokolow, N.

ספר זכרון ("*Memorial Book*") Warsaw, 1889

Walden, A. See Azulaï.

Weiss, I. H. See Prefatory Remarks, .

Wininger, S.

Grosse jüdische National-Biographie, volume I, 1925; volume II, 1927; volume III, 1929, Cernaŭți (Czernowitz)

This is so far the most complete Jewish biographical dictionary published. The whole work will probably be completed in six volumes, of which only the first three (covering the letters A-La) have appeared, up to now.

In spite of numerous inaccuracies, Wininger has been fairly thorough and inclusive in the number of his sketches. Hungary, Roumania and other minor states have been particularly well handled. There is also a laudable attempt made to dwell on significant individual contributions.

YUNG, P.

Alphabetische Liste aller gelehrten Juden und Jüdinnen . . . vom Anfange der Welt bis auf unsere Zeiten, Leipzig, 1817

Far from fulfilling its pretentious promise on the title page, the little volume is remarkably skimpy. In view, however, of its being the first Jewish biographical dictionary in a language other than Hebrew, it deserves our attention, especially as some of the names are not to be found in other similar dictionaries.

D

CONTRIBUTIONS TO SPECIAL FIELDS OR IN PARTICULAR COUNTRIES

BÄRWALD, H.

Juden als deutsche Historiker, Vienna, 1858

BEDARIDA, G.

"The Jews of Italy." *The Reflex*, March, 1929

BLOCH, C.

Das jüdische Amerika, Vienna, 1926

Kaleidoscopic but luminous.

BYCHOWSKY, Z.

"אידן אין דער געשיכטע פון מעדיצין"

("Jews in the History of Medicine")

A series of articles in Yiddish in *Di Presse* (Buenos Aires), June 24, *et seq.*, 1929

CARMOLY, E.

Histoire des médecins juifs, 1844

COLLMANN, S. M.

Jews in Art, Cincinnati, 1916

A juvenile book containing short sketches of Jewish painters and sculptors, with illustrations.

DEUTSCHE *Buchhandel und das Judentum, Der*

Leipzig, 1925

De-Rossi. See Rossi, De-

Dietz, A.

Stammbuch der Frankfurter Juden, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1907

Eisler, R.

Die jüdische Philosophen des Mittelalters (3 volumes), Vienna, 1878–1883

Friedenwald, A.

Jewish Physicians and the Contributions of Jews to the Science of Medicine (pamphlet), Philadelphia, 1897

Originally published in *Publications of Graz College*, No. 1 1896.

Friedenwald, H.

"Jewish Physicians in Italy." *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 28, 1922, pages 133–211

Friss, A.

Monumenta Hungariae Judaica, Budapest, 1903

Geiger, L.

"Die Juden in der deutschen Literatur." *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, 1887, volume II

Geiger, L.

Die deutsche Literatur und die Juden, Berlin, 1910

Ghirondi, S. M., and Nepi, G.

תולדות גדולי ישראל

("*History of the Great in Israel*")
Trieste, 1853

The basis of this work, which was published by his elder son, A. R. Ghirondi, is Nepi's ספר זכר צדיקים לברכה which, in itself, was intended as an extension of Azulaï's שם הגדולים (*q.v.*), but was left uncompleted. S. M. Ghirondi supplemented it, and his son brought out the combined dictionaries in a single volume. With all its limitations (confining

itself practically to Jewish scholars in Italy), the book possesses a certain value because of its local references.

GOLDSTEIN, JULIUS
Das deutsche Geistesleben und die Juden

HEIMKEHR. *Essays jüdischer Denker*, Czernowitz, 1912

HEPPNER, E.
Juden als Erfinder und Entdecker, Berlin, 1913

HERZFELD, L.
Zwei Vorträge über die Kunstleistungen der Hebräer und alten Juden (pamphlet), Leipzig, 1864

HOROWITZ, M.
Jüdische Ärzte in Frankfurt, Frankfurt, 1886

HÜHNER, L.
"Jews in the Legal and Medical Professions in America prior to 1800." *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 22, 1914

HUSIK, I.
A History of Jewish Mediæval Philosophy, New York, 1912

JESKE-CHOIŃSKI, T.
Neofici Polscy. Warsaw, 1905

JEWS' *Who's Who, the* London, 1920

If only the same were done for Jewish art, Jewish science, etc., as the author of this inflammatory book has done for Jewish finance in England, we would be thankful.

The directory of titled Jews and especially the list of Jewesses who have married into the highest aristocracy in France as well as in Great Britain are striking features of this otherwise libellous publication.

JUDEN *in der Musik, die*
(pamphlet) Berlin, 1881

KAYSERLING, M.
Biblioteca Española-Portugueza-Judaica. Dictionnaire bibliographique des auteurs juifs, etc., Strasbourg, 1890

KAYSERLING, M.
Die jüdische Frauen in der Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst, Leipzig, 1879

KIRSCHSTEIN, S.
Jüdische Graphiker. Aus der Zeit von 1862–1825, Berlin, 1918

KOHUT, A.
Geadelte jüdische Familien, Salzburg, 1891

KROJANKER, G., editor
Juden in der deutschen Literatur, Berlin, 1922

LANDAU, R.
Geschichte der jüdischen Ärzte, Berlin, 1895

LEWIN, [L.?]
"Jüdische Ärzte in Grosspolen." *Jahrbuch der jüdisch-literarischen Gesellschaft*, 1912, pages 421–489

LILIENTHAL, S.
Die jüdischen Ärzte, Munich, 1838

LOEB, I.
"Jüdisch-arabische Ärzte." *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 1880, Vol. VII.

MARKENS, I.
The Hebrews in America, New York, 1888
May be regarded as the first Jewish-American *Who's Who*. Teems with facts which at the time were enlightening.

MEDICI, PAOLO
Catalogo dei neofiti illustri, Florence, 1701

MORAIS, H. S.
The Jews of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, 1894

MORRISON, M.
"The Early Jewish Physicians in America." *Medical Life*, Oct., 1928
The paper was subsequently reprinted as a pamphlet.

MORTARA, M.

Indice alfabetico dei rabbini e scrittori Israeliti di cose Giudaiche in Italia, Padua, 1886

MORTARA, M.

Il pensiero Israelitico, Mantua, 1892

MÜNZ, I. D.

Die jüdischen Ärzte im Mittelalter, Frankfurt, 1922

MUNK, S.

Philosophie und philosophische Schriftsteller der Juden, Leipzig, 1852

NEUMARK, D.

Geschichte der jüdischen Philosophie des Mittelalters (2 volumes in 3), Berlin, 1907-28

Appeared also in Hebrew. The work was planned on a large scale but was left incomplete.

NEWMAN, L. I.

Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements, New York, 1925

REICH, I.

Beth-El: Ehrentempel verdienter ungarischer Israeliten (2 volumes), Pesth, 1856–1864, 2nd edition 1868

RENAN, E., editor

"Les écrivains juifs-français du XIV^{e} siècle." *Histoire littéraire de la France* (volume XXXI, 1893)

Taking up over 500 pages of this quarto volume, the material, it must be remembered, is confined to the fourteenth century only. Another volume (XXVII) deals with the French rabbis of the fourteenth century ("Les rabbins français du commencement du XIV^{e} siècle").

If Renan's idea is carried out by the present editors, we may expect to see another volume or two of this colossal work (begun in 1833 and now in its thirty-sixth volume) devoted to Jewish contributions to the French literature, in

its most comprehensive sense. The data in volumes XXVII and XXXI were probably gathered, for the most part, by Adolf Neubauer.

ROSENTHAL, D. A.

Konvertitenbilder aus dem neunzehnten Jahrhundert, (3 volumes), Schaffhausen, 1865–1870. 3d edition, Regensburg, 1892–1902

ROSSI, G. B. DE-

Dizionario Storico degli Autori Ebrei e delle loro Opere, Parma, 1802. Translated into German as *Historisches Wörterbuch der jüdischen Schriftsteller und ihre Werke*, Leipzig, 1839

RÓSZAY, J.

On Jewish Physicians in the Middle Ages, 1862, (in Hungarian)

SALESKI, G.

Famous Musicians of a Wandering Race, New York, 1927

A bit too inclusive, *e.g.*, Max Bruch is represented as a Jew although it is well known that he came from Aryan stock.

SAVITZ, H. A.

"The Jews in Medicine," *Jewish Forum*, 1924, Vol. VII

SCHERBEL, S.

Jüdische Ärzte und ihr Einfluss auf das Judentum, Berlin, 1905

SCHWARTZ, J., AND S. A. KAYE, editors

Who's Who in American Jewry, New York, 1926; 2nd edition, 1928

With its scores of important omissions, it is nevertheless the only authoritative biographical dictionary of contemporary American Jewry.

†Semi-Gotha: *Weimarer historisch-genealogisches Taschenbuch des gesamten Adels jehudäischen Ursprungs*. Weimar, 1912

Although this handbook is intended to serve Jew-baiters of all descriptions, and its data are often ridiculous, it is nevertheless a source (even though muddy) of Jewish biography, especially as it ferrets out some of the crypto-Jews who hide behind their newly-won escutcheon.

A similar book was published, in 1928, in Hungary, revealing the Jewish origin of many converts to Christianity in Hungary.

Servi, F.

Israeliti d'Europa nella Libertà, Turin, 1872

Stein, L.

Die Juden in der Philosophie der Gegenwart, Berlin, 1922

Steinschneider, M.

Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher (2 volumes). Berlin, 1893. See chapter on "Mathematics."

Steinschneider, M.

"Die Mathematik bei den Juden." *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, second series, 1893–1899

This study, which runs through many numbers of the above periodical, takes the investigation down to the early Renaissance only.

Steinschneider, M.

"Die mathematische Wissenschaften bei den Juden 1441–1500." *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, third series, 1901

†Wagner, R. (under pseudonym of K. Freigedank)

Das Judentum in der Musik (pamphlet), 1869

Since its original appearance in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 1850, it has become the gospel of all who showed any inclination to belittle the Jews in music.

E

BOOKS DISCUSSING JEWISH CHARACTERISTICS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MENTAL ATTAINMENTS

ABBOTT, G. F.
Israel in Europe, New York, 1917

ADENEY, J. H.
The Jews of Eastern Europe, New York, 1921

ALLEN, J.
Hebrew Men and Times, 1861

†BELLOC, H.
The Jews, New York, 1922

BERNFELD, S.
דור חכם (*"Scholarly Generation"*)
Warsaw, 1896

Biographical sketches of outstanding Jewish scholars in the nineteenth century.

BERNFELD, S.
Juden und Judentum im neunzehnten Jahrhundert, Berlin, 1898

BERNFELD, S.
Kämpfende Geister im Judentum, Berlin, 1907

Sketches of a few leading reformers in various walks of life.

BERTHOLET, A.
Kulturgeschichte Israels, 1920. English translation entitled *A History of Hebrew Civilization*, London, 1926

BRYAN, W. L.
The Wisdom of a Race (pamphlet), Indianapolis, 1921

BURGH, W. G. DE
The Legacy of the Ancient World, London, 1924

†Chesterton, G. K.

The New Jerusalem, London [1921]

Chesterton's wrong-headedness is as patent here as in most of his other books. He would like to see the Jews turned into a throng of ditchers, scavengers, hod carriers, bootblacks, etc. As statesmen, writers, educators, professional men they are on too high a plane for him. One wonders what he would say of the Jews, if his stated wish came true.

Chesterton's mercurial mind turns somersaults so frequently that we are no longer surprised at anything he says; and when we hear that his heart goes out to the Jewish revolutionaries, Bolsheviks, fiery radicals, who are so hounded, and that it is the Jewish plutocrat, magnate, smug conservative who has incurred his ire, we know full well what it all means. Chesterton realizes that the Jewish underdog needs no instigators, hence he (Chesterton) can afford to be charitable. It is against the Samuels, the Monds, the Readings, and the Rothschilds that his propaganda must be directed.

†Clarke, J. H.

England under the Heel of the Jew, London, 1918

Cohen, G.

The Jews in the Making of America, Boston, 1924

Conning, J. S.

Our Jewish Neighbors, New York, 1927

Cornill, C. H.

The Culture of Ancient Israel, Chicago, 1914

Darmesteter, J.

"Coup de l'œil sur l'histoire du peuple juif" from his *Essais Orientaux*, Paris, 1883. Translated into German as *Die Philosophie der Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, Vienna, 1884

†Dearborn Independent, The

The International Jew (4 volumes), Dearborn, 1920–1922

DRUCKER, A. P.

The Culture of Ancient Israel (pamphlet), 1911

DUKES, LEOPOLD

Philosophisches aus dem zehnten Jahrhundert: ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte der Mohamedaner und Juden, Nakel, 1868

FINKELSTEIN, Z. F.

Stürmer des Ghetto, Vienna, 1924

FISHBERG, M.

The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, New York, 1911

FLUEGEL, M.

Israel the Biblical People; Israel, Past, Present and Future; Battling for Mankind and Civilization; against Anti-Semitism and its Real Issues. Baltimore, 1899

†FÖRSTER, B.

Das Verhältnis des modernen Judentums zur deutschen Kunst (pamphlet), 1881

FÖRSTER, W. J.

Die internationale Wirksamkeit des Judentums in der Vergangenheit (pamphlet), 1918

FROMER, J.

Vom Ghetto zur modernen Kultur. Eine Lebensgeschichte, Charlottenburg, 1906

GABRIELI, G.

Italia Judaica, Rome, 1924

A useful booklet giving a bibliography of writings in connection with Italian Jewry, arranged according to cities.

GOLDMANN, N.

Von der weltkulturellen Bedeutung und Aufgabe des Judentums, Munich, 1916

GÜDEMANN, M.

Die Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Kultur der Juden in Deutschland während des 14ten und 15ten Jahrhunderts, Vienna, 1888

HAUSER, P.

Les Grecs et les Sémites dans l'histoire de l'humanité, Paris [1910]

A provocative comparison.

HENDRICK, B. J.

The Jews in America, New York, 1923

Chapter II repeats the old slur that the Jews have no creative ability, the author taking his cue from Wagner.

HENNE AM RHYN, O.

Kulturgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart, 2d edition Jena, 1892

Chapters VII and VIII are directly concerned with our topic.

HERTZ, F.

Rasse und Kultur, 3d edition, Leipzig, 1925. Original edition appeared under title of *Moderne Rassentheorien*, Vienna, 1904. Translated into English as *Race and Civilization*, London, 1928.

HIRSCH, N. D. M.

"A Study of Natio-Racial Mental Differences." *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 1926, vol I.

For critical comment, see chapter II of the present volume.

HUNTINGTON, E.

The Pulse of Progress, New York, 1926

In his discussion of Jewish pacifism, the author's views reveal a distorted perspective. Momentous events are ignored, thus leaving no resistance to his theory of adaptation.

HURT, W.

Truth About the Jews, Chicago [1922]

The author, writing in a spirited vein, makes an eloquent and valiant appeal on behalf of the Jews, but he sheds no

new light on the subject. The chapter on "Jewish Culture and Achievement" takes up no more than ten pages, and most of the data therein appear to be based on Mendel Silber's *Jewish Achievement* (*q.v.*).

†Jacobs, *the Original Mr.*, New York, 1888

The character of this pasquinade can be gathered from the opening sentence, which reads as follows: "It must not be supposed that the Jews as a class are an intelligent race," and also from the statement that Moses Mendelssohn became a rank infidel. There are, however, some interesting observations on the antecedents of some celebrities; Waddington, *e.g.*, and Spuller are represented as of Jewish origin. So are, according to this author, Marat and Robespierre.

A very interesting passage in this book reads: "During the reign of Napoleon III, it was the Jew, Adrien Marx, who occupied the place formerly held by Racine, that of historiographer of France. It was the Jew, Jules Cohen, who directed the music in the Chapel of the Tuileries. It was the Jew, Waldteufel, who conducted the orchestra at the court balls. Now follow me to the confessional, into which no one, not even the Emperor, dares enter, and you will there see a woman kneeling before a priest, and confiding to him the anxieties of an empress and of a mother, concerning the war about to take place.

"This priest is the German Jew, Jean-Marie Bauer."

There can be no question but that the libel was prepared by a paranoic Jew.

†Kolkmann, J.

Die gesellschaftliche Stellung der Juden, 3d edition (pamphlet), Berlin, 1881

Livi, L.

Gli Ebrei alla luce della Statistica (2 volumes), Florence, 1919–1920

One of the most important works on the physical and, to a less extent, the mental characteristics of the Jews.

Levinger, E. C.
The Jews in America, New York, 1920

Magnus, K. (*Lady*)
Jewish Portraits, London, 1888; fourth edition, 1925

†Marr, W.
Der Sieg des Judentums über das Germanentum (pamphlet), 4th edition, Berne, 1879
A manic-depressive lament, which closes with an appeal for funds to subsidize a weekly publication for the purpose of emancipating the Germans from the Jewish yoke!

Meisl, J.
Haskalah. Die Geschichte der Aufklärungsbewegung unter den Juden in Russland, Berlin, 1919

Melamed, S. M.
Psychologie des jüdischen Geistes, Berlin, 1914; 2d edition, 1921

†Mousseaux, G. des
Le Juif et le judaïsme et la judaïsation des peuples chrétiens, Paris, 1869
Chapters VIII, IX and X deal with the intellectual superiority and moral inferiority of the Jew.

Muret, M.
L'esprit juif; essai de psychologie ethnique [2nd edition], Paris, 1901.
Contains the sketches of half a dozen famous Jews.

Noyes, C. E.
The Genius of Israel, Boston, 1924
Merely an interpretative *biblical history*. The title is a misnomer.

Oesterley, W. O. E., and Box, G. H.
A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediæval Judaism, London, 1920.
Contains chapters on philosophy and ethics, the mystical literature, grammar and exegesis, historical and travel books, etc.

Pasmanik, D.
Die Seele Israels, Berlin, 1911

Pedersen, J.
Israel, Its Life and Culture, London [1926]

Radin, M.
Jews among the Greeks and Romans, Philadelphia, 1915

Raisin, J. L.
The Haskalah Movement in Russia, New York, 1913

Robinson, G. L.
Leaders of Israel, 1906
Written from a Christian angle.

Roth, S.
Now and Forever, New York, 1925
The chapter headed "The Legend" is germane to our topic.

Samuel, M.
You Gentiles, New York, 1926

Schwab, Moïse
Répertoire des articles relatifs à l'histoire et à la littérature juives, parues dans les périodiques de 1665 à 1900, Paris, 1914–1923.

Schwab, Moïse
Répertoire des articles relatifs à l'histoire et à la littérature juives, parues dans les périodiques de 1783 à 1898, Paris, 1899 (lithographed).

Segall, J.
Die beruflichen und sozialen Verhältnisse der Juden in Deutschland, Berlin, 1912.

†Stöcker, A.

Das moderne Judentum in Deutschland besonders in Berlin (pamphlet), Berlin, 1880

Thon, J.

Die Juden in Oesterreich, Berlin, 1908

†Toussenel, A.

Les Juifs, rois de l'époque. Histoire de la féodalité financière (2 volumes), Paris, 1847

Wardle, W. L.

Israel and Babylon, New York, 1926

†White, Arnold

The Modern Jew, London, 1899

Thinly veiled anti-Semitism peers at the reader through the pages of this book, but the author's intimate knowledge of certain Jewish personalities induces us to take the book more seriously than one might have been impelled to do at first.

Wundt, M.

Der ewige Jude. Ein Versuch über Sinn und Bedeutung des Judentums (pamphlet), Munich, 1926

If the great Wilhelm Wundt could not bequeath his mentality to his son, he did, at least, succeed in passing on to him his anti-Jewish prejudice.

Zangwill, I.

Chosen Peoples; The Hebraic Ideal versus the Teutonic, London [1918]

Zangwill, I.

The Voice of Jerusalem, New York, 1921

The chapter entitled "The Legend of the Conquering Jew" is most interesting, but what errors of fact the poet-scholar allows himself to lapse into! Mendeléeff — a Jew! Jung — a Jew! Léon Bakst — a Nobel prize man!

Zollschan, F.

Das Rassenproblem, Vienna and Leipzig, 1912

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[1] Names of characters in *belles-lettres*, or of persons appearing as titles of books, are italicized. Unidentified pseudonyms, as well as sobriquets, are flanked by quotation marks.

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